Poona Oriental Series No 89

RELATION OF THE EPICS
TO THE
BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE

WITH REGARD TO
HISTORY, RELIGION & SOCIOLOGY

BY
PROF. V. V. DIXIT, M.A.



ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY
15, SHUKRAWAR, POONA 2 (INDIA)

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HISTORY—Introductory (1–2), The two wars and the heroes (2–4), The old tribes and their kingdoms—Bhāratas, Kurus, Pāñchālas, etc. (4–8), The government of the country (8–10), The king and his cabinet (10–11), Legislative Council (11–12), Units of administration (12), An ideal king and state (12–13), Administration of justice and the penal code (13–15), Defence (15–16), Budget (16), Foreign policy (16–17), General remarks (17).

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INTRODUCTION

The book was undertaken first as a thesis in 1929. It was presented to the Bombay University for Mandlik Gold Medal and Prize (1930). There were only two competitors. Curiously enough, the syndicate on the recommendation of the referees did not award the medal and prize to either of them on the ground that none of the two works came up to the standard. Subsequently I sent the manuscript to the editor of Bhandarkar O. Research Institute's Journal. It lay there idle in the pigeon hole for nearly two years. A sharp reminder from the author was necessary for its restoration. Then it was shown to Prof. V. G. Paranjape who went through it and offered his opinion about its publication. After some vicissitudes it was finally accepted for publication by Dr. N. G. Sardesai. The first four formes (Pp. 1-64) appeared in the *Poona Orientalist* regularly. Afterwards there was a long break. This was due to shortage of paper. The remaining portion was published in the years 1949-50.

Unfortunately Dr. N. G. Sardesai is no more with us. His son Dr. R. N. Sardesai is carrying on the legacy of his father with a sense of duty and devotion. Had he shown less zeal, this book would not have seen the light of the day. I must thank him heartily for his co-operation and good-will.

When I was collecting the data for the thesis, Prof. V. G. Paranjape made valuable suggestions and generously supplied me with rare old texts. I acknowledge here with gratitude his help.

I collected ample material but while writing the thesis I was compelled to be brief. I could have easily trebled the volume of the book but the University regulation required that

the thesis should cover about 100 pages. This would explain the brevity and also the cryptic style of the book. As it is, the book is a valuable guide to the reader who is interested in Ancient Indian Culture.* I request the Indologists to go through it and offer their remarks and suggestions. At the time of second edition I would try my best to incorporate them. I have not quoted my sources fully. At some places, I have only mentioned the chapter and the verse. I am conscious of these drawbacks, and if I receive encouraging response to this initial attempt I would certainly present a better and amplified version to the reader in due course.

Poona City,
January 1950. V. V. Dixit.

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* He will find that every statement is corroborated and supported by texts. For the proper appreciation of the book, he should read the references and notes carefully. They form an integral and vital part of the work.

धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा ।

RELATION OF THE EPICS TO THE BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE WITH REGARD TO HISTORY, RELIGION AND SOCIOLOGY

(V. V. Dixit)

Introductory : —The term 'Epic period' can be interpreted in two different ways. It can denote a period when the actors in the drama of the great Bhārata and Rāmāyana war lived and fought. According to the calculations based upon the genealogical data Pargiter concludes that there is a gap of five centuries between the dates of the two famous wars. According to him Rāma lived in the fifth century before the war of Mahābhārata which took place in 1100 B. C. Vaidya and some other scholars put it at the beginning of Kaliyuga *i. e.* about 3100 B. C.[1] Western scholars in general would not recede beyond the period fixed by Pargiter.

If the genealogies of the solar and lunar races given in the two epics are compared it would be found that there is a difference of 7 generations between Rāma and the Pāndavas.[2] This establishes the priority of Rāma but the difference between the two periods is less than 200 years. There is a slight discrepancy between the two epics as regards the solar genealogy. Nābhāga is put down as the son of Ikṣvāku in M. Bhārata whereas Rāmāyaṇa puts him much lower.

Another interpretation of the 'Epic period' would be the time when the works were actually composed. Hopkins would assign a period of four centuries *i. e.* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D. to the main portion of Bhārata. Indian scholars would put it about 500 B. C. Rāmāyana of course is later as the language itself suggests. We are concerned with the dates of their composition as much as the period when the heroes actually lived. Other books that can be included under this period would be the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, Gṛhya Sūtras and Dharma Sūtras.

As regards the Brāhmana period nobody has questioned the authenticity of the historical events recorded therein, the period

would roughly represent the time when Rohiṇi and afterwards Kṛttikā rose at the vernal equinox.[3] This covers a period of a thousand years. Some Brāhmaṇas like Gopatha are very late yet they are prior to the epic by 500 years. The two periods are divided by a deep gulf of about 1000 years.

A mighty wave of revolution in social and religious field passed over India which affected seriously the Vedic religion in the 6th century B. C. The old Kernel of Jaya was developed into M. Bhārata with a view to combat the growing power of this new force *i. e.* Budhism. Brahmanism rallied all forces at their command and made Brahmanic religion more attractive and easy. It was so modified as to suit the public taste. The continuity of the Vedic religion was cunningly maintained. Rāmāyaṇa however has no such motive. The historical and social data supplied by it is, therefore, more reliable and accurate than the other epic, barring of course the instances of poetic exaggeration.

The two wars and the heroes : — Doubt is expressed in various quarters about the historical data of the two epics. Dutt observes to the following effect. As works of history they (the epics) have no value at all but they reveal to us the customs and manners of the people living in those days.[4] Draupadī along with five Pāṇḍavas, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his hundred sons, the war that was fought between them, these are all fictions according to him. Max-Müller holds a diametrically opposite view. Says he " whenever you come across anything in the ancient literature of Hindus which is repugnant to their feelings and opposed to their sacred traditions, be sure that it is genuine. Brahmans would have got rid of the uncomfortable and inconvenient fact of Polyandry about the heroes of the epic if they could ; but it was too strong for them to be ignored or to brush aside. They, therefore, had to invent excuses to white-wash it."[5]

Some scholars hold that originally it was a Kuru Pāñcāla war. Later on Pāṇḍavas appeared on the scene and the poets fabricated accounts connecting the latter with Kuru family. Holtzmann thinks Bhīṣma must have been appointed to marry his brother's wives. He may be the real brother of Paṇḍu who

was later on made a descendant of Kuru family for the purposes of the narrative[6]

An altogether different view is quoted by the author of the Cambridge History. 'Brahmanical civilization received a crushing blow at the hands of the non-Aryans at Kuru-Ksetra which was the scene of the greatest disgrace to the vanquished Aryans The poets in revenge and despair turned the spot into the holiest shrine and completely aryanised and idolised the conquerors to efface the memory of the disgrace'[7] The view appears plausible so far as Pāndavas are concerned. They certainly show traces of non-Aryanism. Their suspicious birth, Polyandry and system of joint property point at the same. Vaidya opines that they represent another horde of Aryans who entered India through the valleys of Himalayas from the North-East at a much later date and came into conflict with the settled Aryans in the Gangetic plains

Dahlman thinks that the war is an allegory and represents the eternal conflict between the justice and right and injustice and wrong This is due to Christian bias of mind It may be noted that Dharma (Yudhisthir) is not a paragon of virtue Dharma and Duryodhana cannot be compared to Christ and the Devil It may be noted that the same explanation is offered in the case of Rāma and Rāvana by others

The mythological explanation, viz, Kunti = the earth, Karna = ear of corn, Kṛṣna = piercing intellect, Pāṇdvas = animal kingdom, needs no refutation. It shows too plainly how easily human intelligence succumbs to temptations offered by the magic wand of fancy and becomes its willing slave eternally.

Some would believe that the original hero was Karna He was superseded by Pāndavas in the revised version This is purely instinctive and cannot be established by facts

✓ The whole trouble has arisen owing to the fact that Pāṇdavas are not mentioned in the sacred books Satapatha Brāhmana mentions Arjuna as a favourite name of Indra It also mentions Subhadrā, this is all On the other hand Kurus as a race is very old. Aitareya, Śatapatha and Gopatha Brāhmaṇas allude to Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, as being absolved from

ya by the performance of Rājasūya. Lalitāvistāra
_āṇḍavas as a mountain tribe.

When we turn to the other epic we find many scholars offering allegorical and mythical explanations. The reason is obvious. When we find many supernatural events in any place we suspect its historical worth. Rāvaṇa with ten heads and twenty arms, the size of Kumbhakarṇa, the feats of Hanūmat and Vāli are of the same type. Certain characters are Vedic in name. Sharamā, the companion of Sitā in her exile, plays the role of a messenger of Indra at the court of Panis in Ṛgveda. Vṛśākapi in Ṛgveda who plays pranks with Indrāṇi and destroys the festival or sacrifice (of Indrāṇi?) very likely suggests the figure of Hanūmat who sets fire to Laṇkā. Sitā is nothing but the furrow on the sacred spot out of which she is said to be born. It is not so easy to banish the personality of Rāma. However he is identified with the moon. The ups and downs in his career represent the waxing and waning of the moon. Fourteen years of exile correspond to the dark fortnight. His return to the capital symbolises the appearance of the new moon. Sītā is only his splendour (Lakṣmi).

The critics often forget that Rāmāyaṇa is neither purely a work on history nor on mythology. It is a combination of both worked by a genius into a harmonious whole. For historical purposes we must separate the two elements. Slow but steady penetration of the Aryans in south India is the one outstanding fact revealed by the epic; and it is impossible to controvert the same by any argument. If we hold fast to this clue it is not difficult to shift fact from the mass of fiction. There should not be any doubt as regards the war. It was a struggle between the Aryans and the Dravidians or non-Aryans, whatever might be the cause.

Janaka the philosopher king of the Upaniṣads is a distant predecessor of Janaka II, the father of Sītā. They are separated by the duration of 18 generations. This indicates that Rāma's period is posterior to the period of older Upaniṣads by about 400 years.[8]

The old tribes and their kingdoms:—The centre of Ṛg-vedic culture was between the river Saraswati and the Driśad-vati. During the period of the Brāhmaṇas it is shifted to

Kurukṣetra The western tribes lose their importance & power and are spoken of with contempt in Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmanas Saraswati continues to be the scene of long sacrificial sessions for some time The most prominent tribes are the Kurus and the Pāñcālas Kurus occupied a minor position during the Vedic period. Ṛgveda mentions them indirectly (cf Kaurayāna) Sṛñjayas were closely allied to Kurus as they had a common Purohita for some time. The once powerful Bhāratas have lost their supremacy along with Purus The following kings belonging to Bhārata tribe are noted:

1 Satrājita who defeats the king of Kāśis

Bhāratas

2 Pratardana a descendant of Divodas, who attacked the Vatsas (Haihayas) to avenge the death of his kinsmen

There was a family feud between the two families Haihayas, the rulers of Vatsa and Bharatas who were at the head of Kashis Haryaśva was defeated in a bloody battle on the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges by Haihayas Sudeva succeeded Haryaśva He met the same fate at the hands of Vatsas Divodasa succeeded Sudeva He founded the city of Vārānaśi on the northern bank of the Ganges Haihayas again attacked him. Divodāsa was worsted in the fight and had to run away from the city. He took refuge at the hermitage of Bhāradvāja, his preceptor Through Bhāradvāja's favour he got a son (Pratardana) who fell upon the Vatsas in their own capital and completely routed them [9] According to a Brāhmana narrative he met his death on the battlefield.

3 Dauśanti vanquishes Satvantas on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna The first great king of Kurus is Parikshit The kingdom prospered exceedingly in his reign [10] Prātisutvana (Pratiśrava) and Pratipa are his grandson and great-grandson. Janamejaya is a descendant in the same line whose Horse sacrifice is described in Śatapatha The capital of Janamejaya was Asandivant.

Kurus

Maṣṇāra, a Kuru-king not found in the epic list is noted by a Brāhmana Sanvarana was defeated by Pāñcālas and was forced to retreat to the river Indus near the mountains. Vasiṣṭha

came to his help and led the Bhāratas (followers of Sanvaraṇa) back to their own country in glory. It is likely that the Vedic tribe (the Bhāratas) was, during the Brāhmaṇa period, partially amalgamated with the Kurus and later on became identical with the latter. The rivalry for supremacy, between the Kurus and the Pāñcālas, is as old as early Brāhmaṇa period.

Pāñcālas

The ancient name of the tribe is Krīvis. It is a mixed tribe. Grierson's view viz. the Kurus are pro-Brahmanical and later immigrants, compared with the older Pāñcāla tribe which represents anti-Brahmanical warrior spirit is not borne out by the epic. The theory that Pāñcālas are non-Aryans is worth investigation (Pancha + Ala (cal)). The people may have some sprinkling of Dravidian blood in their veins.[11]

The following names are recorded in Brāhmaṇa literature :—

Kraivya and Shona (son of Satrāsāha) as performers of the Aśvamedha. Pravahana Jaivali is a philosopher and a king holding discussions with the learned at his court.

Other tribes

The Janhus and the Yādavas to which Viśvāmitra and Kṛṣṇa belong are sub-divisions of Kurus.[12] The capital of Yādavas was Mathurā. They gave it up and fled to Kathiawar and settled at Dwārkā for fear of the invasion of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha.

In the south the following people are mentioned: The Vaśas, the Uśīnaras and Satvants. During the epic Uśīnaras were also known as Śibis after a king of that name. Śibi occurs as a name of the author of a hymn in Ṛgveda. This indicates the high antiquity of the people. Coins, bearing the legend Mazamikāya Sivijanapadasa, are found.

Other kingdoms in the south are the Niṣadhas and Vaidarbhas.[13]

In the extreme North beyond the Himalayas there were the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras. The former were invincible and were practically cut off from the main current of Aryan culture owing to difficulty of communications.[14] The Kurus proper migrated southwards where they remained on the plateau. The gradual march of the Brahmanical civilization from the West to

the East is described through a legend in: Śatapatha (1.4 1). Māthava Videgha carried Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. His priest uttered a verse in praise of Agni and it fell down from the king's mouth. At this time he was on the bank of Saraswati. Agni went on burning the earth towards the East. The king and his priest followed him Agni came as far as Sadānīrā (Gunduck) Brahmans did not cross the river in former times thinking it had not been burnt by Agni... Now-a-days there are many Brahmans to the East of the river, which formed the boundary between Kosala and Videha.[15] Atharva Veda knows of Magadha and Anga as distant lands The reputation of Magadhas as minstrels is very old It is suggested that Kikatas of Ṛgveda may be the inhabitants of this country They are also identified with Vrātyas of the Brāhmana period They display anti-Brahmanical traits throughout the pre-epic and the epic period [16] The people of Magadha play a very important part in the religious revolt against Brahmanism led by Buddha, Jarāsandha made it a sovereign power in North India for some time. The Bhojas, a new tribe, were in alliance with Magadhas Videha was formed into a kingdom at the time of Tāndya Brāhmaṇa[17] by Nami. During the Upanisadic period it was a flourishing state It became the centre of culture and learning under the patronage of Janaka I Kosalas were divided into Kosala proper and North Kosala The solar dynasty, founded by king Ikṣvāku, with Ayodhyā as its capital, ruled over the former The two kingdoms may have been united during the reign of Daśaratha after his marriage with Kausalyā Śatapatha notes Śālvas and Kaikayas for the first time as western tribes This shows that there was a regular influx of the new tribes from the West as the older ones penetrated further into the South and East A Śālva King figures in M. Bhārata Kaikeyī belongs to the other tribe Matsyas are coupled with Śālvas in Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Aryan colonization of Sindh is older than the Brāhmaṇa period [18], Jayadratha takes a prominent part in the Bhārata war Kuśa of Videha pushed further East and founded a kingdom on the bank of Sona.[19] In M Bhārata Kāmarūpa (Assam) and its ruler Bhagdatta are mentioned. Bālhika and Gāndhāra are both western countries. The former is contemptuously referred to in the epic and the Brāhmaṇas [20] Aitareya Brāhmana refers to a

number of non-Āryan tribes in the episode of Hariścandra.[21] The Aryan settlers had to struggle very hard with the aborigines whom they called Asuras, Rākṣasas, Nāgas and Sarpas. Śatapatha vividly depicts the conflict between them: Asuras conquered the world by defeating the gods. They then began distributing and measuring the land from West to East: Gods approached them desirous of getting some share. They placed Viṣṇu at their head. They requested the Asuras to give them a share in the land. Whereupon the latter replied in malice, "You shall have as much share of land as is covered by Viṣṇu".[22] In the end the Gods pushed back the Asuras in all directions and occupied their country. The Sarpas and the Nāgas are two distinct but allied non-Āryan tribes. Arjuna married three Nāga Maidens. Agastya had a Sarpa mother. The Nāgas had a number of settlements on the northern bank of the Ganges but their greatest city was Taxilā, founded by Takṣaka. The incident of the burning of Khāndava forest reveals the fact of a whole-sale massacre of the Sarpas with great cruelty by Arjuna. The new conquerors wanted free land for expansion and they resorted to such wicked means when it was not possible to get it by using gentler methods. The Nāgas must have given a lot of trouble to the new-comers by looting their cattle and women. Their position was impregnable when they were once in-side their natural fortress. Orissa, East Bengal and Assam were also the homes of the Nāgas.[23] Gītā refers to their greatest kings Ananta and Vāsuki.[24] During the epic and the Brahmanic period the Āryans were not so much afraid of the Nāgas and the Sarpas as they were of the Asuras and the Rākṣasas. The latter had wrought such a terrible havoc in the Āryan fold from the days of Ṛgveda that they (the Āryans) never forgave them. At the beginning of every religious rite they wished doom and destruction to their eternal enemies.[25] The Dasyus or Dāsas may be a distinct non-Āryan tribe or a generic name for any foreign tribe.[26]

The Government of the Country

India was divided into a large number of principalities. Each kingdom covered an area of about four modern districts. Some kingdoms were smaller than a district. There was an eternal conflict for sovereign power between powerful king-

doms Generally the supreme power was satisfied if the feudatories offered a fixed tribute by way of presents on ceremonial occasions[27] The paramount power did not interfere with the internal administration of petty states Every state had a population which spoke the same language and were united by the ties of blood They had a homogeneous culture and traditions Under these circumstances bonds of friendship or hostility between neighbouring states continued for centuries Every state was ruled by a chief or King whose office was hereditary The form of government was limited monarchy The powers of the king were restricted in religious and legal matters by the authority of Purohita and the royal clan The land could not be given as a gift by a king without the previous sanction of the clan during the Brahmaṇa period[28] There was a popular assembly for the whole state mainly composed of the martial chieftains and the learned Brahmans Repeated mention of the expulsion of unpopular kings proves that the nobility and the clergy exercised real control on the affairs of state and acted as a wholesome check in case of misrule We find a similar instance in the political condition of medieval Europe when the hand of the Church and the nobility in political matters was felt very strongly[29] At the time of coronation the king had to take an oath before all that he would forfeit everything his gifts, good deeds, life and offspings, if he played false to the priest The oath is mutual in Kaushitaki, showing clearly the close association of Brahma and Kshatra[30] It implies an indirect promise that the king would not violate the old Āryan traditions and would safeguard the status and prerogatives of the priests There were very few states conducted on a republican basis with an elected chief They were small tribes known as Gramas and Gaṇas[31] They compare favourably with the city states of ancient Greece Buddha praises the republican spirit of Lichavi clan and compares their assembly with that of the gods They had 7707 rulers of the royal clan They formed the principal assembly at Vesali, their capital It had an elected president who performed the functions of the crown Śākyas had a similar constitution The following information can be gleaned from the organisation and working of Buddhist church about the working of the popular assemblies during the epic period[32]

(i) Rules were laid down regarding the moving of resolutions.

(ii) Quorum was fixed.

(iii) Open voting and voting by ballot were known.

(iv) A Committee was appointed to discuss a complicated issue and in case it did not come to a decision the matter was considered in the full assembly.

(v) Rules were laid down for the legalisation of the Acts done by an illegally constituted assembly.

There is a dialogue between Dharma and Bhīṣma in Śānti Parva where the causes of the downfall and prosperity of the republican bodies are discussed. It is suggested that the Gaṇas should exalt worthy men in the state and be firmly united under the guidance of their leaders (Mukhyas). Factions and mutual jealousy would ruin them.[33]

Yādavas had also a republican form of government. Fifty six Koṭis of Yādavas are local organizations having one supreme body. Hereditary kings looked down upon the chiefs of these republics as they were not crowned like kings. That is why Kṛṣṇa the leader of the Yādava clans was inferior in status in the eyes of Śiśupāla and others.

The King

Bodily defect such as blindness, lameness and incurable disease made a man unfit for the office of the king. A person could be set aside for his general incompetence. Karṇa quotes three different sources from which a King may be elected.[34] In case of incompetency a brave soldier or an efficient general became the ruler. Women were debarred from holding the office of the king permanently.[35] The rule of primogeniture was usually adhered to.[36]

The Cabinet or the executive council

Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa supply the list of officers present at the time of coronation. (1) They are : Purohita, (2) Rājanya, (3) Mahiṣī, (4) Vāvāta, (5) Parivrikti, (6) Sūta, (7) Senāni, (8) Grāmanī, (9) Kṣattri, (10) Sangrīhitrī, 11) Bhāgadugha, (12) Akṣāvāpa. Tāṇḍya gives only 8 officers whereas Śatapatha gives 10 only with a slight difference.[37] The

Executive council of Dharma had 8 members including the king himself They were all appointed by him

1 Bhima Vice regent corresponding to the prime minister and Rājanya or Rājabhrātṛ of the Brāhmanas

2 Vidura • Political and foreign secretary

3 Sañjaya Auditor general and finance secretary

4 Nakula Head of the royal forces, controller of food stuffs and pay master

5 Sahadeva Aid-de camp and private secretary

6 Arjuna Home secretary (Internal and external defence) and Superintendent of prisons etc

7 Dhaumya Head of the religious department legal adviser etc

8 Dharma (King) Highest tribunal and the head of the cabinet He was advised and helped by jurors and Purohitas

This is certainly an improvement over the older system of Brahmanas The queens, it appears, had a direct hand in the administration of the country During the epic times they lose their importance considerably [35] Their indirect influence and power are however much dreaded

Ramayana gives 8 officers in the kingdom on whom the king is to keep a watch through three spies each The eleven officers who are not members of the cabinet are under one or the other member of the body [38] The cabinet exercised great influence on the administration and served as a check on the kings wilful conduct The relation between the king and the cabinet was similar to that between the viceroy and his council in India The king dared not override their unanimous decision

There was a bigger body to frame the laws and decide the policy for the state It consisted of 4 Brahmaṇas, 8 Kṣattiyas, 21 Vaiśyas, 3 Śudras and 1 Suta (in all 29 members) Out of this body the king selected 8 ministers for the transaction of ordinary business [40] Manu (VII 54) recommends a council of 8 ministers including the prime minister, who is a learned Brāhmaṇa The king is advised to consult them individually

The legislative Council

and jointly before taking any measure.[41] Their decision was not binding on the king but it carried great weight.

Units of administration

The village administration was vested in the headman who was assisted by the village council. It was the smallest unit in the kingdom. Ten villages had one supervising officer. Two groups of ten had another. A third ruled over a hundred villages. Ten such groups had the highest officer.[42] The headman was responsible to his superior and had the following duties: collection of taxes, keeping law and order, trying petty civil and criminal disputes, maintenance of a land record etc. He had four assistants. The village enjoyed freedom in internal affairs and the state had very few occasions to interfere in these matters.[43] Jātakas throw considerable light on the relation between the local council and the headman. A certain chief prohibited slaughter of animals and another the sale of strong drinks; the villagers protested against these regulations on grounds of long standing custom. His orders were repealed by the higher authorities. One headman, who allowed the robbers to loot the village, was degraded to the rank of a slave.[44] The whole village was jointly responsible for the loss of the cattle of an individual and had to make good the loss. The king punished that village where Brāhmaṇas who were unobservant of their duties, and ignorant of the Vedas subsisted by begging.[45]

An Ideal King and State

Rāmāyaṇa depicts the following picture. There were no widows, no misers and no disputes even among women; all were virtuous and law-abiding. Long descriptions of a general state of prosperity are found in both the epics when the country is ruled by a just and wise king.[46] He is advised to behave like a pregnant woman taking care of his state at the cost of his personal likes and dislikes even as she concentrates all her attention on the safety of the foetus. He is not to hate Brāhmaṇas. He is to be impartial in giving justice.[47] Safeguarding the structure of the social orders and castes is an extremely important matter for him.[48] He should be ready to sacrifice even his life in order to maintain his reputation and to please his subjects. He should observe sanctity of contracts, especially gifts of land etc.[49] ' In

the interest of cows and Brahmana' was a slogan during the epic He is warned against infuriating his subjects by levying heavy taxation The fire created by the friction resulting from the oppression of people would not only destroy the king but would ruin his whole family A straightforward policy is not always possible for him[50] He is not to touch the wealth of a Brahmana (by taxation) under any financial or political crisis He should pay equal attention to the three Purusarthas and should not confide his secrets to women[51] He was not to indulge in charity at the expense of public exchequer[52] He should guard himself from excessive indulgence in women, gambling, hunting and drink He should be neither too strict nor too lenient in dealing with his servants Above all he should be ever watchful and alert[53] The doctrine of divine nature of the king was impressed on the people He is identified with Visnu, Indra or Eight guardian deities[54] The political conditions were more stable during the epic There is an evidence of prosperity all round due to growth of trade and commerce The king usurped more powers and grew despotic This is due partly to the estrangement between the two ruling communities the Brāhmanas and the Ksatriyas The incidents of dethronement of kings are generally pre epic[55] The idea of divinity naturally made them irresponsible in course of time Creation of a mercenary standing army meant less power for the members of the royal clan[56]

Administration of justice and the penal code

The practice of wergeld was current from the days of Rgveda A man is called Śatadaya (one who can be ransomed for hundred cows or the price of his blood is equal to that amount) Śunaśśepa is purchased by Rohita from his father for a hundred cows as a substitute for his life This leads us to the inference that if a man in a high social position committed a murder he had the chance of saving himself by payment or by giving another person An Āryan was reduced to the status of a slave for his crime He could win back his freedom by the same practice[57] Pressing of Soma symbolically represents the slaughter of a warrior The sacrificer atones for his crime to the gods by offering a hundred cows Śānti parva gives different punishments for the murder of

different castesmen, e. g. a man killing a Vaiśya was punished with two years' penance and a ransom of 100 cows and one bull. The same ransom with one year penance sufficed for Śūdra.[58] Brāhmaṇas received preferential treatment in law. They were never punished with the decapitation or death for any crime. The maximum punishment for them was branding and exile.[59] A Brāhmaṇa murderer however is looked upon as the highest sinner.

Sexual union between the father and the daughter, and brother and sister was punished with death.[60] Decapitation was prescribed for simple theft.[61] Theft of gold, drinking liquor (for a Brāhmaṇa), adultery, abortion are other serious offences.[62] A less serious view was taken of adultery during the age of the Brāhmaṇas.[63] Heretics and those who broke the law of caste were strictly dealt with.[64] Treachery to the king (state) is recognised as a capital offence.[65] Trial by the fire ordeal in a civil case is noted by Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (14-6-6). Vatsa was accused to be the son of a slave woman by his rival. He walked through fire and established the purity of his blood. Chāndogya mentions a general case of theft where the accused is compelled to hold a red-hot axe in his hands. Later law-books give the ordeals of a balance, water, etc. They were resorted to in absence of any witness. But such cases were extremely few. The procedure of trial was systematised during the epic period. The village courts could fine a cultivator for neglect of work and expel (or fine) a thief or an adulterer out of the village. Serious cases of robbery and murder were excluded from their jurisdiction.[66] These were sent to divisional courts. The highest tribunal was in the capital of the state. The work of the courts was shared by guilds, religious, and corporate bodies who decided cases by Arbitration when authorised by the king. The king enforced their decisions and heard appeals from them.[67] These bodies enjoyed greater latitude when the central authority was less organised.[68] Besides these there was the ecclesiastical council which was empowered to decide points of law. It consisted of ten members who were specialists in different branches of law.[69] It seems that the council acted only when any matter was referred to them by the government or the people.[70]

M Bharata lays down some general principles for the guidance of law courts[71] (i) Acts done in a state of insanity should be condoned, (ii) If an offence is repeated a second time the culprit deserves death penalty though it (offence) be not grave First offence should be condoned, (iii) Those who commit an offence deliberately and deny having done so should receive drastic punishment even for a slight crime, (iv) There is no penalty for killing a man in self defence under certain circumstances In some Republican states the procedure of trial was different The accused had to pass through six different courts, but the highest court alone had the power to convict him Any lower court could acquit him if he was found innocent[72]

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(Niyudha); Southerners were good swordsmen. Various mental and physical tests are given, indicative of valour.[79] As the kingdoms are mostly inland naval force is out of question.[80] Principal cities were fortified and surrounded with a moat and bridge. For internal security military stations were kept in important villages.[81]

Sources of income

Land revenue: All arable land was classified under three groups. The owner had to pay the $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, or $\frac{1}{12}$ share of the crops to the state according to the fertility of the land. Cattle-breeders paid $\frac{1}{5}$th of the increment in the live stock. Villagers had to pay $\frac{1}{6}$th of the produce of timber, honey and fruit.[82] *State labour*: Every artisan had to work 12 days in a year for the state so also all labourers (Śūdras).[83] Merchants were taxed according to the value of the merchandise they sold. Shipping duties were paid in kind. Income tax was levied at the rate of half per cent on profit. In towns legal fines were collected in coins.[85] States maintained cattle farms of their own which yielded considerable revenues.[86] Special brands were used to distinguish state cattle rom the private. A royalty was levied on mines. Actors and courtezans gave personal service to the state like artisans. Revenue from gambling halls and liquor shops added much money to the state treasury.[87] When the state treasury was completely drained owing to wars and famines an emergency tax was levied on all wealthy people.[88] The state worked as a central bank lending money to merchants and farmers on interest[89] which formed an important item of income.

Heads of expenditure: (i) Private purse was fixed. (ii) Defence absorbed a good deal of money. (iii) Sacrifices and charity are included under public expenses. Brahmans revolted when this head was curtailed by the king.[91] (iv) Public works. (v) Civil services; Narada recommends the ratio of 4 : 3 between Income and Expenditure.[92]

Foreign policy: Kaṇikanīti contains a synopsis of the policy to be followed by a state (king) towards its rivals. It is frankly unscrupulous. Recourse to poison, treachery and ruthless murder of all political enemies is recommended. A thorough spy system ought to be maintained by the state. Public gardens,

monasteries, temples, drinking houses, holy shrines, rivers, forests etc were haunted by spies disguised as ascetics, blindmen, beggars etc to get information Greatest value is placed in commanding the followers with tact and keeping the counsel ecret [93] In fact international morality was very low as it had been ever for ages all over the world.

General remarks

The idea of kingship was deeply rooted in the hearts of the Aryans ever since early Vedic period The institution became sacrosanct by the time of the epic Anarchy was dreaded and feared as the greatest calamity [94] There is a world of difference between a king in the epic and a king in the Brahmana period The former grew more and more autocratic as Brahmans formed a rigid caste and became priests merely The balance of power was thereby disturbed A general sense of weakness in an average subject is noticeable in the epics This may be attributed to increased prosperity, greater safety, climate and the theory of state all taken together People seldom used their theoretical right to revolt against the monarch on account of misrule

RELIGION

Cosmology

Prajapati created first of all Brahman (Holy word or Logos) out of which heaven and earth were made [95] He was alone but desired to be many. He practised penance and created birds and men, who are nearest to him They perished Secondly he created small creeping animals they also perished He created big reptiles who met the same fate Then he reflected and found out that the want of food is the cause of their destruction. So he created milk before the birth of animals on the breasts of females Thus they lived Milk is food and food is creatures [95] The Asat (nebulous form of existence) consisted of seven vital forces (Rishayas) They could not fashion the universe separately. They joined together and generated Prajāpati out of Āpas (the nebulous form of the cosmos) An egg came out of Āpas Agni burst forth from the egg The liquid portion of the egg was converted into a horse The crackling sound

became the ass. The liquid sticking to shell was transformed into a goat. The shell itself became the earth. The pair Agni and Bhūmi generate wind. Wind and Atmosphere generate the sun and so on till the creation is complete.[97] All accounts agree in putting a conscious life-force, which is eternal, at the root of creation. The exact relation between the nebulous existence and this Primæval power is kept vague. In the later philosophical systems this vagueness gave rise to different interpretations. Sānkhya system postulates two eternal forces which are partly independent and partly interdependent on one another. In the Brahmana period material and spiritual force was considered to be of the same nature. The Act of creation and sacrifice are inseparable.[98]

Sacrifice

Prajāpati is a typical sacrificer who sacrifices in order to remove exhaustion after the work of creation. It brought him food and joy. It is the most precious gift handed over to mortals by him. Sacrifice is identified with different deities.[99] ' It is on a higher moral ground than the primitive totemism in which people tried to bring kinship with animals and thus to get all the supernatural powers by partaking of their flesh and blood in order to assimilate all their qualities directly. It was a sort of communion between the tribe and the animal (common descent was traced). It was not killed for lust or desire for food. Vedic sacrifice shows traces of this feeling. The cow, regarded as sacred, was offered. It is the very sacredness in the cow that made it the fittest victim.[100] Sacrifice on earth is only a miniature representation of the divine sacrifice conducted by the gods.[101] Sacrificial Act is looked upon as a power superior to the gods, who are dependent on it. Sacrifice is the instrument through which the human sacrificer can bring them under his control and get his desired object. The gods in fact attained godhood through sacrifice.[102] Thus there is an element of Magic in the sacrifice. Every object connected with its performance contains divine essence and is endowed with supernatural powers : the cups, the stones, the pillar, the cart, the cooking pan, the fuel sticks, the bundle of holy grass, the two generators of sacred fire and other objects are praised along

with deities The food, that is left after sacrificing to the deities, has marvellous powers of generation and is highly lauded [103] Five sacred fires are born of five leaps of Virāt (issue of Prajapati) Āhavaniya (for offerings to the gods) is to the East, Garhapatya (for domestic rites) to the West, and Dakshināgni (for the Pitris) to the South of the Altar, which is broad on the West and the East and contracted in the middle The remaining two are the aasembly fire and the kitchen fire [104] The Prānās are identified with first three fires [105] Speculations on the nature of sacrifice contained the seed of its destruction Thus in Tait Āranyaka the parts of sacrifice are identified with human body [106] Bharata enumerates seventeen constituents of sacrifice. The use of hair, horn, hoof cowdung and milk would make a cow-sacrifice A cow need not be killed In Tait Brah the symbolical act of besmearing Purodasha with the ash of the cowdung enriches the sacrificer with cattle, for the cowdung represents the cattle The epic carries the symbolism to its logical conclusion by altogether dispensing with slaughter of the victim The influence of Upanishadic philosophy has also modified the religious outlook of the epics A man exclaims, 'I shall sacrifice myself to myself (my) progeny will not save me' (स भा शा) This directs the attack at the very root of the system Sacrifice was as much tempting, if not more, because of its promise of cattle, corn and progeny to its performer, as of its hope of getting a comfortable seat in heaven Later on some wise people lost their appetite for worldly enjoyments and wished only to secure salvation after death They discovered an easy path of contemplation and meditation on the nature of the soul or knowledge of self which would bring them to their goal The costly sacrifice with its round of slaughter of different victims produced a nausea in their mind It was declared that performance of sacrifice was not the way to salvation [107] As the word (sacrifice) was too deeply rooted in popular mind it was retained but an entirely different meaning was attached to it in place of the old one [108] The ethical portions of M Bhārata roundly denounce those who erect sacrificial pillars and eat flesh Even the eating of consecrated flesh gives rise a to little sin Use of a corn victim is recommended instead of the living one [109] 'Non-killing is greater than any other religious rite, it is the highest

religion. Real sacrifice consists in charity, truth and penance.[110] Another method is invented whereby Vedic sacrifice is done away with. Observance of fast for different lengths of time would be equivalent to the merit secured from various sacrifices. (Thus one meal a day for a year = Atirātra ; taking ¼th of the normal quantity of food for four years = Vājapeya and so on.)[111] Throughout Brahmana period big sacrifices are connected with the banks of certain rivers[112] (Saraswatī, Jumna Ganges, etc.) The rivers gained in sanctity owing to this historical connection. As the sacrifices ceased they (Riverse) gained in importance. Pilgrimage to these holy rivers and the shrines on their banks was considered as religious as performance of sacrifices (in old days).[113]

Popular sacrifices

The horse sacrifice, was performed by rich people and princes. The horse is given a ceremonial bath and after certain rites it is sent out to wander for a year protected by armed warriors, Vaishyas and—others. When the, party returns the ceremony goes on for eight days. The victim is consecrated and the three queens (wives) are asked to mark lines with pointers on the body of the dead victim for the purpose of dissection the next day. The crowned queen is called upon by the priest to lie near the horse. She is covered by others (queens) who stand near and encourage her. Thereby she gets cattle and progeny.[114] Next day its flesh and fat are offered to deities. Throughout the year there is music and songs. It was performed to impress the people with awe and grandeur after a decisive victory and to consolidate the royal power.

Rājasūya has a similar purpose. It is the coronation ceremony. It lasts for 16 days. Tāndya suggests twelve sacrifices on twelve days at the residence of twelve 'jewels of state'.[115] This brought them into close union and lessened the chances of treachery in the kingdom. Vājapeya is a chariot race and a drinking bout. It is the privilege of the first two castes. The priests wear gold necklaces. The warrior shoots seventeen arrows and seventeen drums are beaten.[116] It resembles a sham fight. Gavāmayana (yearly sacrifice) is the imitation of the annual motion of the sun. The last ten days constitute Mahāvrata. These are the

days of revels when the tongue is let loose to conquer Prajāpati completely Brahmans play on the lute and sing songs along with warriors [117] At the end there is a dialogue between the priest and a Shudra, the former maintains that the sacrificers have prospered and done righteous deeds , Shudra retorts they have squandered wealth and done evil This is reminiscent of the old struggle between the gods and the Asuras in which the gods prevailed [118] The victims are, (1) horse, (2) cow or bull, (3) goat, (4) ram or ewe, (5) man Human sacrifice was current during the Brahmana period, but it had lost popularity and was discouraged [119] During the epic we hear of Sarpa Satra by Janamejaya and Purushamedha by Jarāsandha The former is incom plete, and the latter did not take place Even Gomedha became rare The victims' flesh and fat were shared by all after a portion had been offered to the deities The worshippers are thus brought into close union with them after death There was no ante thesis between the flesh and the spirit The flesh when assimilated into the body of the sacrificer would direct his spirit after death by the same path to heaven by which the spirit of the victim had gone Elsewhere the victim is identified with Prajapati and the sacrificer [120] The antethesis arose in the days of Upanishads and was developed during the epic by a school of philosophy which created a permanent gulf between the two [121] The sacrifice was a power for good or evil It was used to destroy or injure the enemy The sword like implement is thrown with a wish to injure the person whom one hates [122] Bakadalbhya offers his own flesh, and the prosperity of the kingdom of Dhritarāshtra dwindles with progress of sacrifice [123] Sacrifice without the presence of the wife was no sacrifice at all In pre-Brahmanic period women played more active part in it This is explained by Jevons on the ground that women had a prominent share in agricultural operations , Sacrifice is closely related to Agriculture [124] The women's share in Mahāvrata, Rājasuya and Ashwamedha has been already noticed The sacrificer has to observe the vows of celibacy, purity and truth along with dietary restrictions Above all faith in its efficacy is demanded of him

The altar is the holiest spot on the earth and the centre of universal law It represents Eternity (Time) which is identified

with Prajāpati.[125] In Hebrew sanctuaries there was a pillar of stone near the alter on which the blood of the victim was sprinkled. It was the visible embodiment of the presence of Deity. This was transformed into the course of time into a statue and the wooden pillar (Yūpa) was made into an idol.[126] The cult of sacrifice was felt to be inadequate as it grew more complex and mechanical. The influence of Dravidian culture on the Vedic religion is already present in later Brahmana period.[127] Vishnu (identified with sacrifice) is represented as coming out victorious among the gods.[128] These two gods Vishnu and Shiva gradually overshadow Indra, Varuna, Agni, Soma and Āditya. Soma and Agni lost their importance along with the decay of sacrifice. Varuna sank into the guardian of the West. Indra no doubt retains his kingship of Paradise, but it is not a place where the wise would desire to stay after death. Brahma-loka is the ideal of Upanishads (Brahman = Cosmic soul). Vishnuloka and Shiva-loka are coveted during the epic. The worship of Phallus which the Ṛigvedic people detested was incorporated into epic religion and praised loudly.[129] The epithet Ishāna clearly discloses the original home of Shiva-worshippers. The god retains his Vedic attributes. He is the lord of creatures, and guards the sacrificial spot. In the epic he dwells on the cremation ground which he regards as the most sacred spot.[130] There is no difference from strictly theological point of view, between the two spots. He is identified with Agni and is the son of Prajāpati and Ushas. He is known as Kumāra,[131] Krishna and Rudra. Rudra as a deity being very old, the people had to invent legends to make room for Krishna in the Hindu Pantheon. The first step is to identify him with Nārāyaṇa or Vishnu both of whom are already worshipped. Secondly, he is made a devotee of Rudra and is said to have sprung from him.[132] Finally Krishna-worship is commended. Theory of Avatāra ia the production of the epic genius. It is quite easy to incorporate any local hero or deity into the framework of Hinduism with its help. Parashurāma, Rāma, Krishna and Budha are actually thus brought in. Vāmana is developed out of a myth in Shatapatha. Narasinha is suggested by the event of the murder of Namuchi by Indra.[133] The Boar incarnation is, according to some, borrowed from a Non-Aryan tribe in

central India The story of the deluge gives rise to Fish incarnation Tait Āranyaka suggests the Tortoise The Brahmans had to fight and counteract the influence of rationalists and Budhists They had to present a cult that would appeal to the masses who were no longer of purely Aryan stock Compromise was inevitable The salvation by the path of knowledge was not meant for an average man Salvation through faith in a personal deity was discovered to be the only weapon with which all heresies could be easily fought [13] They made the two deities Rāma and Krishna as attractive as possible by investing them with moral and physical grandeur Krishna usurps the functions of Indra Indra and Vishnu won a 1000 cows from Vritra There arose a dispute between them about the share of each Indra secured two-thirds, Vishnu got the rest The position is entirely changed in favour of Vishnu (Krishna) in Harivansha Indra destroys Ushas' chariot, Vishnu kills the mother of Shukra (Venus) Indra kills the demon lying flat, Krishna kills MuchaKunda in a cave while he is sleeping Vishnu of Brahmana and the epic (old) period is not a full fledged Man Rāma worships Nārayana (Vishnu) by offering butter in fire and spends the night in the temple (Āyatana) of Vishnu [136] The temple of Vishnu is the sacred room where the three fires are kept There is no trace of image worship Images of gods are introduced after the advent of Budhism, (new epic period) Even Shiva was given a human form besides the phallic emblem Shiva is a newer form of Rudra He had to make his way into the pantheon with some difficulty Daksha admits eleven Rudras, who are Vedic, but refuses to acknowledge Maheshvara The new deities contract even the vices of the old ones Both Indra and Krishna are adulterers [137] Non aryan Shiva brings with him other gods and goddesses Skanda, with his Grahas both males and females, is worshipped for the welfare of new-born children [138] The worship of Kumāra (an old name of रुद्र शाखा) is only another form of Phallus worship [139] Durga is the female counter part of Skanda She is fond of dance, wine and flesh, wears serpent-ornaments and is represented to be an eternal maiden [140] Her chief abode is Vindhyāchala—the stronghold of the aborigines She combines in herself the traits of a virgin mother, Vishnu and Shankara In the hermitage of Agastya Vedic and non-

vedic deities have their shrines.[141] Ambikā, originally the sister of Rudra, is confounded with Durgā the wife of Rudra.[142] A mouse is offered as a permanent victim to Rudra so that he may spare other cattle. He is the lord of Ganas.[143] From these hints post-epic Ganapati is fashioned. The Vināyakas are the destructive deities classed with Pishāchas, Bhūtas, etc.[144] They might be compared to the host of Vedic Rudra. The supreme spirit was given a triple form. Brahmā creates, Vishnu protects and Mahesha destroys the universe. The seed of the idea is contained in Upanishads.[145] Rudra retains his destructive nature, Vishnu, the god of Aryan expansion and colonization, is fitly called a protector and Brahmā is Prajāpati in a new form. Thus a continuous tradition is maintained. Faith is a vital part of every religion. It is identified with truth and its reverse (want of faith) with falsehood. Agni is the guardian of Shraddhā.[146] Tait. Brahmana exalts it into a goddess. 'She is the foundation of the world. She dwells within the gods and makes them divine. It is said to be aroused in the heart of yajamāna at the sight of sparkling Soma. The enemy of Shraddhā is Avarice or Niggardliness (Arāti). She is a charming woman with a golden complexion.'[147] A Medieval friar's sermon opened with an attack on greed as the greatest sin. Similarly faithlessness and avarice are condemned everywhere. Anything that is offered to deities, any penance, gone through or any gift given—these become null and void if not accompanied with faith. Men devoid of faith do not get salvation.[148] Faith is active as well as passive. The faith of a Vedic Aryan in Indra belongs to the former category. It is cheerful, assertive and welcomes this life with its pleasures and duties. The epic faith in Krishna-Vishnu is of the second type in many respects. There is a gravity, a sombreness about it which is chilling in its effects. Upanishadic cult has produced its full harvest. The passive aspect of Vedānta philosophy is stressed upon. All that savours of life-vigour is cried down. Both Indra and Varuna are painted black. The moral grandeur of the latter is no more.[149] In the dialogue between Bali and Indra, the latter is vanquished and put to shame by his rival who appears as an ass eating chaff. Namuchi the Vedic enemy of Indra is morally his superior. Vritra is a saint and devotee

of Vishnu. This is quite Christian Power and glory are at a discount Nietzsche rightly calls it the morality of revenge or a chāndala morality All those who are vanquished and down-trodden become saints being unfit for anything else' This is the dominant and woeful note struck in the ethical parts of the epics If we confine our attention to the actors in the epic drama, we come to the conclusion that they were not affected by this withering morality Their faith is active The author (of मभा०) has to take note of this outlook It is said 'Everything that a strong man does is wholesome holy and lawful'[150] In the chaos of religious views, the life of Krishna and his doctrine duty for the sake of duty, stand out in bold relief

Life after death

Agni (Sacrifice) is the bridge leading to the gods with whom the dead live in friendship[151] This life is a preparation for the next[152] In the stars is the life of virtuous men who go to the celestial world[153] Death makes him die again and in the yonder world, who goes there without escaping it (death) The tortures in the city of Yama described in detail in the epic are fore shadowed above The picture of Paradise as a land of pleasures is common The man wishes to be with his wife and sons there He drinks Soma in the company of Gandharvas The virtuous enjoy there the lakes filled with ghee, honey wine, milk and curds[154] The epics bring in a host of beautiful damsels who surround the virtuous man with dance and music and take him in aerial cars of different types[155] Epic paradise is on the whole more voluptuous and corrupting than that of Brahmanas, the older conception of Yama as the first mortal and king of the departed souls is in the background, although community with the manes is coveted He now becomes a god of justice[156] Life of immoral pleasure led by gods and nymphs is fully depicted to attract the vulgar mind A popular religion has to come down to the level of the vulgar[157] Shatapatha describes six routes leading to Brahman They are Agni, wind, waters, the moon, the sun and lighting[158] The philosopher and the warrior dying on the battlefield go through the sun's orb[159] The story of Mudgala illustrates how all the worlds except Vishnuloka are vitiated with one defect or another The antethesis between Vidyā and

Karma, and Ātmayājin and Devayājin is fully developed in the epic. The latter is roundly denounced in Gītā.[160] Sinners have to experience various tortures according to the nature of sins committed by them. Shatapatha refers to Naraka loka.[161] Another method of retribution is rebirth of a sinner as a vile creature. He is reborn as a serpent, boar, tiger, insect, etc. Wicked men are also reborn as trees and hewn by their foes.[162] Complete destruction of individuality is rarely mentioned. Katha gives a hundred and one paths by which the soul can leave the body; one that passes through head gives immortality. Shāntiparva develops this idea assigning different worlds for different passages.[163] Bliss, truth, merit and light constitute Paradise. Untruth, darkness and misery make up Hell.[164] Immortality with the earthly body is denied.[165] It is believed that a gift of a thousand cows would enable the soul to travel the distance from earth to Paradise.[166] A rationalist wonders how a cow's gift before death can save a dead man.

Religion and earthly life

The Brahmanas concentrate their attention on this life. A sacrificer is bound to prosper. In the epics it is not always so. The devotee welcomes pain, suffering and penury as an encouragement to greater devotion. This is the result of exalting spirit at the expense of flesh.

Religion and state

Both are inseparable. The sphere of religion covers a wide field. It commands, advises or directs in all social and political activities. The whole life of a man from birth to death is a sacrament. This worked well so long as the state was small and homogeneous. All defaulters could be easily dealt with by social ostracism as was done in ancient Greece. The number of heterodox persons grew fast in the epic, who asserted their independence in religious matters. With the breaking up of Vedic sacrifice there was anarchy in matter of worship. Social organisation completely broke down owing to promiscuous fusion of blood वर्णसंकर. This produced confusion everywhere. The Aryans had to pay heavily for proselytising the non-Aryan tribes wholesale.

Sociology.—Caste system

Originally there were no restrictions as regards diet, marriage and freedom of action In other words there were classes based on profession but no castes All enjoyed the same rights [167] This is true of Aryans The Non aryans slave (Shūdra) who was admitted into the fold of Aryanism was assigned a special status The primitive stage when every person was his own priest and defender was long past Some devoted themselves to the study of Religion while others took to arms The rest followed agriculture and handicrafts The art of defence was most valuable and useful then The very existence of Aryan society depended upon good generals and their followers The king of men was a general who led an army successfully against his enemy even as Indra was the king of gods A brave king however is not a successful administrator and ruler He has his limitations He wants a councillor who would help him to consolidate his power The man of intellect, the priest, is fitted for this job He knows the weakness and the strength of his society He frames a code of law, religion and morality which subdues the intractable elements in society He takes pretty good care to see that his position is made secure in the body politic The ruler cannot grudge him this much The priest's rank is directly below the king's He is the direct descendent of Agni and claims superiority over all classes Brahmans are gods on earth to be propitiated with gifts [168] The king has to remember that he is ruling the earth because the Brahman has waived his claim on the kingdom The king is in theory a deputy [169] The conflict of interest is hinted in the following 'I have recourse to the holy power, may the holy power guard me from lordly power I have recourse to the lordly power. Hail to the lordly power' [170] The struggle between Vasiṣhṭha and Vishwāmitra repeatedly alluded to in the epic symbolises a state of tension between the two professions which have not hardened into castes It is considered to be a misfortune for a warrior that there should be born in his family a man having natural inclination for Vedic studies rather than the spirit of conquest and domination over others [171] 'A Brahman is an acceptor of gifts, drinker of Soma seeker of livlihood and dependent on the nobility.' Towards the close of the epic period

has been able to destroy it. This marvellous tenancity is entirely due to it. So long as the first three classes could freely exchange profession and inter-marry among themselves and occasionally could admit even a Shūdra the system remained healthy. When the professions were determined by birth generally and inter-marriages ceased it began to deterioriate.[182] The liberality shown by the ethical parts of the epics towards Shūdras is only theoretical. 'Conduct is the only test of Brahmanhood. For Brahmanhood is the same everywhere.' 'A person who is Shūdra by birth may be a Brahman (by virtue of conduct) and *vice-versa.*' He is allowed to study. A learned slave is giving moral instructions.[183] The processes of ascent and descent from the original caste were governed by certain rules. These fell gradually into disuse.[184] It is argued that the system is tyrannical and unjust to Shūdra and Vaishya. The only reply is that no civilization and culture of any worth has ever been reared up on principles of equality and fraternity for all. The Western or White civilization is based entirely on the exploitation of the black man, Roman and Grecian cultures had also their Shūdra class.

Family and Property

Among the Aryans patriarchal system prevailed. The father was the head of the family and could dispose of his property among his sons as he liked. He had full control over all the members of the family. Vishwāmitra disinherited his unsubmissive sons and adopted Shunasshepa. Yayāti set aside four elder sons and handed the crown to Puru. Dasharatha gave a promise to Kaikeyi's father that Kaikeyi's issue would succeed him. An intelligent and able son was not given any share if he had a number of brothers.[185] Ajigarta even sold his son. Ordinarily the property was equally divided among the sons, the eldest getting a few extra things. A daughter fetched dowry to the father.[186] The personal property of the mother passed on to the daughter. The maternal grandson inherited the property of his mother's father in absence of sons. Polygamy was current in the upper classes.[187] Polyandry was not countenanced. Karna openly declares 'Draupadi is a prostitute as she has many husbands.' Even Drupada and his son put up a strong protest when the proposal of five brothers wishing to marry her was placed

before them Niyoga is an old custom It is gradually dying out in the epic [188] Great stress was laid on having a male issue No sacrifice was too big to get a son The scandalous practice of the priest being invited to generate sons on the queen by her husband is either a myth to cover up the foibles of the five heroes or is intended to show complete dependence of the warrior on the priest—a pure propaganda to establish Brahman's superiority "Wind attempted to blow and burn also"[189] The practice is at any rate not supported by Vedic authority. Different views are expressed about the eligibility of a daughter getting a share in paternal wealth Some maintain she is ineligible because, (i) she can be sold, (ii) she can be given as a gift, and (iii) she can be exposed after birth Others hold that the grounds given are fallacious as they apply equally to a son [190] Somahūti refers to a daughter claiming the property of her father A widow did get some share of her husband's property [191] Partition is favoured as a rule The system of joint-property came into vogue when the advantages of guilds were realised Tribal societies stand on different footing altogether Dravidian influence is also a potent cause of its incorporation into Aryan Society [191a]

Professions and Occupations

Tait Bra enumerates victims fit for human sacrifice The list includes almost all professions They are Acting Prostitution, Music, Chariotoeership, Pottery Smithy, Jewellery, Arrow-making, Bow making, String making, Rope making, Hunting, Magic, Basket making, Fence-making, Washing and Dyeing (women), Horse master, Keeper of elephants Cow herd, Shepherd, Vintner, Forest guard, Carpenter, Fisherman, Sailor, Tanner, Acrobat, Keeper of the gambling hall, Umpire of gambling In the epic period many of them organised themselves into guilds Jātakas give a good deal of information about their administration Merchants and traders had also their organizations Damayanti accompanied the caravan traders when deserted by her husband Some guilds were big enough to form a village or town A Greek historian tells us that Tatta, now in ruins, on the bank of the Indus had a population of forty thousand weavers at the time of Alexander's invasion Different localities and streets were assigned to smaller guilds in cities [192] The head of the

guilds was called Shreshtthin or Jetthaka who represented it at the court. Those who broke an agreement with a guild or stole its property were banished and their property confiscated. The guilds framed rules of business for themselves and had their own courts to try the members.[193] Besides doing their work proper they served as banks, accepting money for safe custody and advancing loans on interest. The merchant worshipped the god of wealth (Kubera) probably borrowed from the non-Aryan merchants.[194] Sometimes they resorted to 'cornering' and got fabulous profits.

Physical Sciences

The Indians were the first to invent a system of numbers commonly known as the Arabic system.[195] The rudiments of geometry and trigonometry were discovered in connection with the building of altar, construction of the three sacred fires and observations of the heavenly bodies. There is an allusion to Rohiṇi as the first constellation which was at the vernal equinox, the beginning of the year. Kṛittikas occupied that position at a later period.[196] The precession of equinox is recorded by Tāndya Bra. The beginning of Gavāmayana is (i) the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Magha or (ii) the full moon day of Phālguna, or (iii) the full moon day of Chaitra. The difference between the solar and the lunar year was corrected by setting apart twelve days annually or by the addition of two months at the end of five lunar years.[197] The Pāndavas observed the lunar year and had already completed their vow when Arjuna appeared. The Science of Astronomy was developed by Atri-family in pre-epic days. Atri could calculate the time and duration of a solar ecplise.[198] Garga was a famous astronomer under whom a number of scholars studied the science.[199] The Pole star and the Great Bear are noted in ancient marriage ritual. Planets and their motions are recorded including the retrograde motion of Mars. Astrology, which is probably borrowed from foreign sources, is unknown to the Brāhmaṇas.[200] Anatomy was studied indirectly through the sacrificial victim. It was essential that the various parts of the victim's body should remain intact. A skilled surgeon was appointed to slaughter the animal. He was a Kshatriya or a Vaishya, if a Brāhmaṇa was not available. In all there were thirty-six parts; each part was assigned to one

participator at the sacrifice[201] Gradually however the post of a Surgeon was considered low Ashvins who are on equal footing with other gods in Rgveda become Śudras because they frequently move among men[202] They knew the art of rejuvenation and substituted artificial limbs Tandya recognises the skill of Atharvans in medicine Substitution of the scrotum of the ram was resorted to to gain virility[203] Royal says 'Egyptians possessed a wide knowledge of practical Botany and their vegetable drugs were numerous and efficacious, some which they obtained from India[204] Administration of medicine with the help of magic is very common[205] It is likely that a good deal of knowledge concerning the use of herbs was received from the Non-Aryan tribes That is why a physician's profession was looked down upon Witch craft and sorcery, specially developed by Rakṣasas, Piśachas and Yakṣas, is the science of medicine under disguise[206] Antidote to snake-bite and poisoning is discovered[207] Four varieties of leprosy are noted[208] From the relation between heart and gold we can infer that it was given internally to cure the diseases of heart[209] Sand bags were used to stop bleeding The value of out door life in treating tuberculosis was fully realised[210] Sterility was treated[211] Charaka and Sushruta advise dissection of human body Yoga philosophy had a physical side Without a sound knowledge of nervous system and physiology it could not have made any progress in making the body perfectly healthy by means of breathing and other exercises[212] Sulabhā by Yogic powers entered the body of Janaka who at once felt her influence Vipula, a disciple of Devasharmā pervaded the body of his preceptor's wife when the latter was inclined to commit adultery with Indra He controlled all her movements and thought and thus saved her from ruin Vidura merged his individuality into Yudhiṣṭira's and died The latter felt himself stronger as a result Assuming different forms and motion through space was possible for Yogins Physiognomy is fully developed as a science in the epics[213]

Atharvaveda names more than a dozen species of snakes The dove, the hawk and the owl are the birds of ill-omen Rāmayana classifies them according to their flying capacity.[214] Horses and bulls were first to get full attention as they were

Zoology

closely associated with human activities in every walk of life. Ashvins are the oldest veterinary experts. In the epic period, king Nala is called अश्वकोविद्. He was noted for his horsemanship, king Shalya is another example. Nala and Nakula are also specialists in Ashva-shastra. Bhima had studied the bul and the elephant.[215] The horse of Sind is famous in Vedic and epic literature.[216] The dog was a closer companion of man in the Brāhmaṇas than in later times.[217]

The world is divided into Dvīpas and Varṣas. Each Dvīpa is covered on both the sides by an ocean. Jambu is the smallest in extent, the second Dvīpa is double in diameter of the first. Third is double of the second and so on. Varṣa is a sub-division of Dvipa. Every Dvīpa contains seven varṣas, marked off by six mountains.[218] The earth is covered by seas, the seas are encircled by Tamas, which again is enveloped in Fire. Space is infinite Even the gods are ignorant of its magnitude. God alone may know it.[219] Seven aerial regions lying one upon the other have their respective functions.[220]

Other Sciences and Arts and Philosophy

The Brahmanas know that there are maleficient and beneficient powers which are to be counteracted and to be pleased by different rites. The theory of Karma has not yet become complex. Predestination has not cast its gloomy shadow over human life. Freedom of will is the sheet anchor of Upaniṣadic philosophy.[221] Predetermination, Indeterminism and freedom of will are all voiced in the epics.[222] The theory of eternal flux and continuous growth is alluded to.[223] The philosophy of Yājnavalkya approaches Nihilism of Budha.[224] He becomes the exponent of Sānkhya system in Mahābhārata. The roots of the philosophy go back to Ṛgvedic period.[225] Time, Nature, Predestination or Chance is imagined to be the prime mover. Complete bifurcation of body and soul is the prevailing idea. The word Ātman which meant a living body becomes now pure spirit. Brahman is conceivd to be Finite and Infinite, Manifest and Unmanifest.[226] The doctrine of Māyā (Nescience) is the inevitable outcome of Sānkhya philosophy. Jābāli expounds materialistic view. He is condemned by Rāma. A hedonist is put on the same level with Budha.[227]

Ethics

Nahuṣa discusses the comparative merits of truth, charity and non violence He points out that absolute gradation is not possible One may be superior to another according to the data of a particular case Religious conduct is associated with virtue, nonviolence and prosperity Others say it consists in obeying the injunctions of Śruti, but everything in life cannot be governed by Śruti It is pointed out that the function of religion is to make the life of man orderly Religion, therefore, changes [228] The idea of relativity is here duly recognised It is absent in Brahmanas Formation of a perfect character is put higher elswhere It is to be built up by practising universal love, charity and good acts [229] Bodily torture would not yield merit, still its value in atonement of sin is admitted Confession in public reduces sin [230] A man's action is judged according to his caste Begging in the case of a Kṣatriya, is a great sin, whereas it is not reprehensible if a Brahman does it [231] A man is restrained from doing wrong for three reasons (i) the fear of society, (ii) the fear of the laws of state, (iii) the fear of punishment after death [232] The first was more effective in the early period owing to solidarity and homogeneity of social units The law of Karma is systematised It is not permissible to wash off your sins and throw them on your enemy's head The rites, having sinful ends, are at a discount The growth of humanitarian feeling is already noticed [233] It is assumed that man is responsible for his acts normally though technically there is a difference of view on this point An ordinary man has to follow the practice of forefathers and the virtuous in society who are safe guides Individual conscience is not raised to the level of Deity Conscience of perfect men alone is infallible They are a law unto themselves [234] Faith alone will not save It must be joined with good acts [235] A small gift (from wealth righteously earned) is more precious than the performance of Ashvamedha with booty [236] Another guide in ethics is 'Do to others as you wish to be done by them' [237] 'Do that to others which others will not be able to do to you.' is the formula of Brahmanas Sexual morality of the epics is on the whole the same as Brahmanas [238]

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Psychology.

'Ten organs are priests; their objects are the fuel sticks. The functions of organs are oblations offered into Āhavanīya (mind). Vāchaspati (Deity of Speech) is born out of this sacrifice. In other words language is produced by mutual action and reaction of the various functions and mind upon each other. Mind is divided into two parts-static and dynamic. Speech is said to be superior to dynamic mind as it requires the help of words for its motion.[239] (When mind is fully developed it can dispense with speech.) The theory of knowledge is opposed to intuitionalism. Mind claims superiority over senses. They contend that it is powerless by itself and it has to accept knowledge of things conveyed by them. All activities of mind in waking and dreaming states are wholly dependeut on them. They support life when persons lose their mind. Mind would be non-existent without them. All knowledge is empirical.[240] Sacrifice was the centre of culture. Learned men assembled there and held discussions on problems-theological, metaphysical and linguistic.

Science of Logic

The art of debates and the science of logic were cultivated and rules weie laid down to regulate the debate between the two parties. Assemblies at the court of Janaka excited jealousy in the mind of other kings. Dialogue between Aṣṭāvakra and his rival reminds us of the old debates. There were also spiritual mediums who delivered esoteric knowledge in trance.[241] Sometimes foolish questions are gravely discussed, e. g., Why hair grow first on the head; why men have beard and women are without it; why teeth fall and grow again; how does a sacrificer reach heaven? What is his ladder?[242] Semantics and etymology often formed subjects for discussion.[243] Some people made it their profession to go about and earn descent living by their skill in debates.[244] They are the sophists of India. In architectural skill the Āryans were far inferior to Asuras and Rākṣasas. The latter lived in fortified cities. The credit of building a unique assembly-hall belongs to Mayāsura. The skilled workers were all Asuras.[244a] The material used for fresco painting was kept secret by them. Big cities are unknown to Brah-

manas They are the out come of settled conditions in society Ayodhyā was 96 miles long, 36 miles broad with roads well laid out Principal streets were daily watered and flowered It had several public gardens and groves of mango trees The palace stood in the centre from which roads ran in four directions Lankā was more gorgeous than Ayodhyā It had buildings of seven and eight stories with pavements of crystal

Music Dancing and Stage

Ritual furnished amusement from Rigvedic times The dialogues between Yama and Yami, Indra and the rival gods and Urvashi and Pururavas must have been staged by priests and nobility during the sacrificial recess Mahāvrata is a musical pageant Like ancient Grecians we note a grave and austere note running through their mirth Almost all sacrifices were accompanied with music-vocal and instrumental [245] Krishna witnessed a dance and play in Arjuna's company at the festival of Raivataka Young princesses were given instruction in music and dancing by tutors Women dancers were usually prostitutes and slave women [246] The Aryans learned much from Gandharvas, Yakshas, etc , who had made greater progress in these arts Hanumat witnessed an expert dancer (woman) sleeping in a dancing posture at Ravana's palace [247] Women played their part themselves It was considered reprehensible to exchange dress at sports [248]

War

A chariot was protected by four guards Two looked after horses, others protected the chariot's sides Each tribe used its distinctive banner and standard Chief warriors chose their own Dhvaja Some used in Bharata war are Lion's tale, five stars, lotus, alter with a gourd and bow,[5] serpent, bull, boar, swan, sharabha, vulture, moon with stars [249] The fighting units were arranged in different positions to suit the strength of the army A small army fighting against odds formed itself into needle position [250] Besides various weapons the army had Boiling wax, raw sugar, sand, explosives, jars full of serpents The elephant's body was covered with a leather armour It had two drivers, two archers, two swordsmen and a man with a trident Investiture

of a general was performed with great pomp like the coronation. The general addressed his soldiers before the fight commenced.[251] Signal was given by blowing the conches to commence the operations.[252] Musicians inspired the warriors by war-like songs and music.[253] If a Brahman appeared in the middle of the two armies desirous of bringing peace they stopped fighting.[254] (Brahman is a white flag of peace.) Alliances were sanctified in presence of sacred fire, the parties taking mutual oaths. Certain conventions were laid down for guidance of combatants in war–i. A fight was fair if carried between two persons whose equipment was similar; ii. use of poisoned arrows was forbidden (Poisoned lances were allowed); iii. the fight stopped when signal to retire was given; iv. A soldier without arrows, one with a broken armour and weapons, one who gave up arms and one who fled away, were not attacked.[255] Silk bandages soaked in oil along with ghee were kept ready to dress the wounds. Wives and mothers of soldiers were pensioned.[256] When the city was besieged the following measures were taken: The bridges leading to the city were cut off and the ferry service stopped. No one was allowed to enter or leave the city without a passport. Actors, singers, beggars, eunuchs and drunkards were sent out of the city. Suspects were kept under safe custody. The acrobats, gymnasts and magicians kept up the spirit of citizens by their feats. Liquor shops were closed. The ditch was strewn with pointed iron bars and dangerous creatures. An allowance for active service was paid to soldiers and arrears were cleared. The country round the fortified city was made unfit for habitation by polluting the water-supply and cutting down trees. When the enemy was very strong whole villages were deserted and the standing crops destroyed.[257] The envoy from the enemy's camp was in no case to be killed. If he were found impudent he might be whipped or disgraced in some other way.[258] Flight from the battlefield was considered ignoble. Death, without being hit by weapons, deprived a man of good worlds after death.[259] Bond of loyalty among the members of a clan was very strong. Seven hundred followers of Shalya sacrificed their lives on the battle-field after the death of their chief by making a desperate attack.

Euthanasia

In extremity of distress men and women practised self-immolation The origin of Satee can be traced to this practice It was resorted to for winning over or persuading one's friend to one's point of view. Fire, water, poison and rope were the usual instruments Sitting in a fixed posture was considered more heroic [250] Bāna's tirade against it proves that it was held to be quite legitimate in old days Brāhmanas do not show any trace of this practice [251].

Eschatalogy

The corpse was dressed in silk and garlanded The procession (in the case of Āhitāgni) was headed by all sacrificial implements and the sacred fires The priests followed The corpse was borne by men in the centre It was accompanied by the wives of the deceased and their female friends who were fully decked The priests chanted Sāmans which were confused with the weeping of the women Some wives entered the sacred stream instead of resorting to fire The funeral of Rāvana tallies with that of an Āhitāgni The cow is duly consecrated and spread over the corpse limb by limb [252] Daśaratha's corpse was kept in oil for about a weak till Bharata arrived The elders came out of the house first, the youngsters following When the procession returned the order was reversed The deceased is looked upon as an offering to the sacred fires The body of Yogins was not burnt [253] Ait. Brāhmana prescribes a rite (Palāsha Vidhi) when the body of the deceased is missing A wooden statue of life size is prepared and the usual ceremony is gone through Loss of bones of the deceased deprived him of good worlds [254] The burial of bones was performed in a special cemetary [255] Culprits were hung on trees at the cremation ground and remained there without any funeral rites [256] From the account of Kīchaka's funeral it appears that the favourite object of the deceased was originally sacrificed on the same pyre It was customary to decorate the pyre of the warrior with the weapons [257] Funeral rites continued for a year New sacred fires were generated and various gifts were given to the Brāhmaṇs. It was believed that the gifts would make the position of the deceased comfortable in the next world Absence of the funeral rites was a serious misfortune.[258]

Marriage

Exogamy was current among Vedic people. Sāpindya terminated with the fourth ancestor and sometimes with the third.[269] The interpretatian varied in different provinces. Political marriages with non-Aryan tribes increased during the epic period.[270] Rāvaṇa is a Rākshasa through his mother. Kubera, his step-brother had an Aryan mother. A king (Riksha) of the lunar race married the daughter of Takshaka (Naga chief).[271] Out of the eight forms of marriage Paishācha and Asura were condemned. In actual practice many marriages were contracted on a financial basis. Beautiful maidens were a great asset to their tribes and parents. Yādavas were blamed for their excessive greed on the eve of Subhadrā's marriage. Gāndharva form of marriage which was commended to Kshatriyas, was borrowed from Gandharvas as the name itself indicates. Svayamvara is a special type of Gāndharva. It has two varieties. In the first the girl was allowed full freedom to choose a husband from among those invited for the purpose. In the second a test was prescribed. Anybody belonging to a good family could get the hand of the bride if he passed it. Many a time an inter-tribal marriage marked the termination of a tribal feud. Feudatory princes or weak tribes saved themselves by giving fair maidens in marriage to the supreme power as a tribute. (Rajput princes continued this tradition by giving their daughters to Moghal Emperors). The ratio of age, between the bride and the bride-groom recommended by Manu was certainly not observed during the pre-epic period. Even during the epic it might have been observed by some Brahmans only. All Kshatriya maidens attained puberty before marriage. The marriage was consummated immediately after the ceremony.[272] Besides regular marriages women belonging to Shudra caste were kept for enjoyment. Prostitutes on contract for a fixed period were also available.[273] Marriage is a sacrament. The orthodox view is that the girl can be given only once. The idea of purchase is deeply rooted.[274] The auspicious constellation for marriage was Uttarā Phalguni. The festival commenced three days early on Maghā. Shrāddha was offered to the manes and a simple sacrifice was performed. Sacred fire was the holy witness in whose presence the bride-groom took a solemn oath to protect and maintain the bride and share his prosperity and religious

merit with her Gārhapatya fire was kindled and worshipped by the pair every day until death [275] The procession from the bride's house to her new home is beautifully described in Āsh Gr Sutra Laws of eugenics were observed at the time of selecting a husband or a wife Evil effects of matches contracted in violation of these laws are described [276]

The status of women

Women enjoyed more freedom in some provinces than in others [277] In the pre epic period the custom of purdah was unknown Women took an active part in agricultural operations and sacrifices In Rigvedic period some women fought on the battle-field and composed holy hymns [278] Women philosophers like Gargi and Sulabha had enough courage to challenge the greatest philosophers of their day in a public assembly Women were best fitted for the work of mediumship in spiritualism [279] Women like Sulabha and others remained life long maidens, leading a life of wandering ascetics Marriage was believed to make a man or a woman perfect, without it he or she remained imperfect [280] Gargi contracted a marriage lasting for a night to escape this technical difficulty When the ideal of ascetism got the upper hand there was no necessity to go through this formality Salvation was secured without marriage [281] A maiden was to wait for three years after puberty If the father failed to find a suitor for her she was at liberty to choose anyone she liked

Shakuntala and Satyavati dictated their own terms before making an engagement This freedom was not however exercised by all The moral influence of a woman on the life of man was fully appreciated It was the duty of men to honour them by giving ornaments and other accessories 'Gods reside with pleasure in houses where they are respected' All pious works yield no reward where they are ill treated If a woman is protected and restrained she becomes glory itself [282] The picture of a house wife is equally glorious in the earlier age They believed with Nietzsche that slavery was the only condition under which weak-minded men and especially women flourish Ethics for women is different 'She is for God in her husband' Service of her husband is her sacrifice, penance and Shrāddha Women enjoyed immunity from capital punishment like Brah

mans and children. She could be expelled from the house if found guilty of faithlessness. Whipping and segregation of the wife for some period are permitted to the husband. An evil-tongued wife may be deserted.[283] An ideal house-wife was expected to be up and doing, looking to the comforts of servants and guests. She practised economy and managed the finances of the house-hold. She was to be genial, smiling and mute in the presence of strangers. Spending too much time in gardens or in idle gossip with other women was not in her line. She avoided meeting alone her stepson. Excessive inquisitiveness was shunned by her as it was injurious to her chastity. She did not even observe closely the sun, the moon and a male tree! She observed the rules of Purdah.[284] System of polygamy and fear of Varṇasankara are largely responsible for these rules. The class of slaves had become numerous. Slaves were closely associated with household affairs. The lot of king's wives was indeed pitiful. The favovrite wife wielded great power over the king. This gave rise to jealousy, hatred and intrigues. The position of the favourite was very unstable. She was ousted the moment the king sighted a new star. Vātsyāyana quotes cases of murders in the harem in the post-epic period. Kautilya gives various precautions to be observed by the king for his safety in the harem. The situation was not so dangerous in the epic times. The Brahmanas sanction only three wives for a king. The favourite queen was not crowned. The discarded one was the third.[285] With the growth of prosperity the life at the court became more luxurious and at the same time vicious. The number of inmates at the harem multiplied fast.[286] At the royal weddings thousands of slave women were given as a gift by the bride's father. Besides these, there is a class of women arising out of mixed marriages and illegitimate issues, leading an independent life. They were experts at toilette, singing, dancing and the art of decoration. Both Damayantī and Draupadī served in this line in days of adversity. The institution of prostitutes was recognised and controlled by the state. They had to put in their appearance on occasions like royal weddings, Coronation, religious and social festivals.[287] Some of them were taken in state service. They had a separate quarter. It was the richest and most luxurious in the whole city. They rode in

gold cars. The state used them as spies to decoy the enemy and to get secret information Budhist nuns were also employed for this purpose The maidens conquered in war were also the property of the state The king disposed of them after a year in any way he liked The best of the lot were kept in the harem, the rest were given in marriage to the nobles [188] Women owned property The gifts given by her father's relatives and those bestowed on her by the husband and others were exclusively hers A widow had a right to her husband's share even though she had no issue She was sometimes cheated of it by wily kinsmen It was considered disgraceful to rob her of her dues[189] They had no right to their father's property after marriage Tradition and custom in different provinces differed The lot of the wives of actors and gamblers was indeed pitiful [90]

Women and ornaments, dress etc

Gold and silver were commonly used in making ornaments The rich had ornaments of pearls, emeralds crystal, coral, saphires, ruby and diamond, They were worn on different parts of the body [191] Women wore shorts at the time of dance At the time of sacrifice grass shorts were put above the ordinary garments for purity.[192] Rich ladies wore silk garments Sita's lower garment was yellowish and artistically embroidered with figures of swans The upper garment was red and scented [193] The auspicious mark on the forehead was put on ceremonial occasions Rama puts the mark on Sita's forehead with red arsenic powder It was originally an amulet to win the affection of the lover Collyrium was common to both the sexes [194] Afternoon was reserved for toilette Hair was braided in different fashions [195] Women were found of using flowers instead of ornaments at times Sandle paste allayed the heat in summer Saffron was known for its erot c quality and was freely employed to heighten the complexion

Sports and amusements

In summer men and women went out to the country side Ladies danced, played various games took bath in streams, fought in joke, drank the best wine and exchanged secrets Sometimes the party consisted purely of women [196] A water picnic of Apsaras is hinted in the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvashi

Maidens finely dressed went out for sports to the parks, specially provided for them.[297] There were public halls where instruction in dancing and music was imparted by trained persons. The kings employed old men or ennuchs to teach their daughters. Shatapatha notes extreme attachment of women to these arts.[298] Elephant and bull fights, tournaments and gambling were other pastimes for rich ladies.

Women exercised silent but potent influence over men in social and political spheres. Women like Kuntī, Draupadī, Sītā, Vidulā and Kaikeyī have changed the destiny of nations.

The glory and misery of womanhood

The seamy side of her character is painted with equal frankness. Urvashī reminds her lover 'Friendship with women is a dream. They have the hearts of hyena.' 'Women are falsehood.' 'They are as fickle, mysterious and hard to be pleased as the speech of the wise.' 'Woman is an extract of the edge of a razor, poison, serpent and fire.' 'They cannot be trusted with a secret.' 'A country where the woman predominates is doomed.' Their passion is difficult to control. She weans away man from higher ideals by her seductive charms. She is a friend and medicine to a man in distress, home without her is a desert; even the root of a tree becomes home in her company. Man is incomplete without her.[299] Women observed certain rules during the menses, Journey of the husband and widowhood. Intercourse with a pregnant woman and one in menses was forbidden.[300] Washing, dyeing and spinning were monopolized by them in the early period. They worked as A. D. C.s among the Rākshasas.[301] (Cf. King Dushyanta's Court in Śakuntala).

Provincial and Racial Characteristics

Vāhīkas, living in Panchanada, were mostly Vrātyas. Every big house there had a slaughter house and brewery. They were fond of decorating their houses, ramparts etc. with garlands and perfume. They spoke vulgar language. Women put on fine woolen clothes. On every black fourteenth night they held a festival in Shākala (the capital). They freely ate pork and the flesh of camel, cock, ass, and cow. Ārattas are a subdivision of Vāhīkas. Distinction of caste was not observed among them. A Brahman became a soldier, trader, menial servant, barber and

again a priest Property was inherited by sister's son [302] Tāndya describes Vratyas They did not follow Vedic traditions and lived chiefly by hunting and tending flocks of sheep Their laws were in a state of confusion They spoke an Aryan dialect but mispronounced certain words They did not devote themselves to learning Their leaders were distinguished with brown robes and silver necklaces [303] A special sacrifice was performed to Aryanise them All Aryan tribes who were outside the pale of Vedic sacrifice and culture were classed as such They freely mixed with the aborigines and borrowed many customs from them Yavanas were brave and advanced in all branches of knowledge Dravidians were crow-coloured, profligate, fond of women and given to quarrels Madrakas are noted for laxity of morals and crookedness They loved beef and wine Their women were fond of collyrium (Suviraka) They were akin to Sindhu Sauviras Intoxicated women played a naked dances Barley mixed with fish was their staple food Among Angas the sick were deserted and the wife and sons were sold [304] Originally the people of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga were Mlenchha Later on any Aryan, fallen from Aryanism was denoted by the term It is synonymous with Vrātya in this sense [305] Asuras and Danavas belong to the same category They are distinguished from Rakshasas [306] In the epic the Asuras are driven to the forests of Vindhya mountain Both were enemies of Aryanism They are closely associated with Gandharvas and Yakshas Lure and love of beautiful women was their weak point The Aryans soon found out this and employed women to ruin them [307] Their civilization was higher in many respects than that of their conquerors [308] Vanaras were backward in culture The weapons they used in war were crude and inferior compared to the bow and the arrow Their women wielded great influence in the state They were endowed with gigantic strength Hanūmat swam a distance of 800 miles Others could make up 80 miles [309]

Language

The earliest specimen of Sanskrit Literature is the poetry of Rigveda The spoken language was not much different A thousand years passed and the idiom of Rigveda become antiquated Fantastic explanations are offered in Brahmanas of

simple verses.[310] Vaishyas and Shūdras who formed the bulk of the population spoke a language of a mixed type using many Deshī words and intonations. This was due to the growing contact with the non-Aryans. The process of Prakritization which had begun in Ṛigveda developed very rapidly. Sanskrit employed for ritual and educational purposes was least affected by these changes. The language broke up into two. The popular speech and the divine speech.[311] Institution of sacrifice helped standardization of holy language spoken by the first two classes all over Aryan India. Severe notice was taken of the priests who deviated from this standard speech. Asuras spoke currupt Sanskrit.[312] The same was true of Vrātyas an Aryan tribe, cut off from Vedic culture. Vidura conveyed his message of warning to Dharma in Mlencha dialect, spoken by foreigners.[313] The Aryans imposed their language on the aborigines, the Sarpas, Nāgas, Pishāchas and Rākshasas. They modified it to suit their vocal peculiarities, retaining a portion of their old vocabulary. Mahārāstrī, Māgadhi, Shourasenī Paishāchī and Pālī arose in this way.[314] Gradually these were spoken by all illiterate persons. Sanskrit spoken:by ladies of upper classes and Vaishyas was not as currupt as any of these languages in the epic and the Brahmana period, though it differed slightly from that of men. Men spoke polished Sanskrit kindred to holy speech.[316] Unfortunately there is no literary record showing the difference between these two. Classical Sanskrit drama does not represent actual conditions. There were provincial pecularities but they were insignificant.[316] Sanskrit of the epics is the literary descendent of Vedic Sanskrit. The prose portion of the epic roughly represents the language used by the actors in the great war.

Literature

Nothing appears more bald and sterile than the language of Brahmanas to a modern critic. Our interests are not the same as those of the ancient priests. Lively dialogues and anecdotes are the oasis in the desert. Flashes of wit and bumour spring a surprise upon us at times. The dominant note is classic. Rigidity. gravity and earnestness mark the whole composition. There is a sense of superiority and strength about it.[317]

The Brahmanas are the product of scholarly discussions held in religious assemblies Sacrifice is the pivot round which all topics, which are secondary, move There is ample evidence of poetic fancy and imagination which are however ruthlessly suppressed The prose legends, fragments of which are found in them, floating among the people are irrevocably lost because the art of writing was unknown and it was not thought worthwhile to memorise them from generation to generation These would have enabled us to form a complete picture of social life in the period Mahabhārata, on the other hand, is exclusively fashioned with a view to attract popular attention It is most indebted to earlier literature All available knowledge on sundry subjects has been amassed in the book Like Homer's Iliad it has grown gradually to its present volume The mind of several generations has worked upon it It stands a unique monument of the epic period Though its purpose is dialectic it vibrates with life As it was meant for public recitation the dramatic element has been fully developed You have to add a few touches here and there and you can easily make a drama out of many narratives Dialogues, characterisation, sentiment, life thrill are all ready It is multifaced and has no literary unity Rāmayana stands on a different footing As a lyrical work it stands unsurpassed The poet has an exquisite ear for music and rhythm He is justly called the first poet in Sanskrit literature Force has not been sacrificed to lyrical beauty [218] Everything centres round the central figure of the hero The didactic purpose is firmly restrained Its simplicity and concentration are wonderful Vālmīki is a poet of nature in all its varied grandeur He is the direct descendent of the authors of Rigvedic hymns His knowledge of human heart is thorough. He is inspired but forgets not art

Education

The academy of Kanva had 10,000 students. The subjects taught were: the Vedas, ritual, phonetics logic, metaphysics, jurisprudence, philology, astronomy, physics, chemistry, languages of birds and monkeys, folklore, materialistic philosophy [219] Its Vedic representative is Vidatha where learned men assembled and discussed all matters relating to sacrifice and layed down

rules of procedure. Sometimes members of non-local assemblies came and put forth their own point of view. Different schools (Charaṇas, Shākhās) arose in this way. Mythology was studied in these assemblies. Yāska quotes different interpretations on certain words and hymns, where myths are explained on the basis of Nature, ritual and history.[320] Students were admitted for instructions in these bodies. Advanced students visited famous centres in other provinces to perfect their knowledge of a particular subject.[321] The Academies were supported by princes, public and guardians of students. The land attached to them was exempt from revenue.[322] The students were provided with quarters, food and dress free of charge. Teachers lived there with their families. Rigorous discipline was observed by students along with the vow of celibacy. Meat, wine, flowers as well as scents, sweats, company of women and music were banned. Sporadic outbirsts of passion did occur, otherwise the atmosphere was excellent.[323] Secular sciences were taught by individual teachers who were either employed by princes or led an independent life.[324] The academies generally admitted Brahmans and turned out statesmen, philosophers, jurists, priests, ambassadors, physicians and men of literature. Women students were admitted in these under exceptional circumstances. Secular schools were open to all Aryans.

The four stages in life

Normal limit of student-life was twelve years. A few remained lifelong students observing celibacy. These included women also. An average student married after completing his studies. Then began a round of sacrifices and ceremonies which ended according to Brahmanas at the time of death. Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa did not exist for a householder. Upanishadic philosophy with its emphasis on meditation and retired life gave undue prominence to contemplative life. It was preached that after student-ship one could directly become a Sanyāsin. This is different from permanent studenthood in which one has to observe the regulations of student-life. During Vānaprastha the man could take his wife with him and live a stable life in retirement. A Sanyāsin had no fixed habitation. He led a nomadic life maintaining himself on public charity.

He had no property He enjoyed immunity from civil law [326] Budhism overthrew the old order and divided society in two groups, the ascetic and layman The former was organised into a powerful institution It built monasteries, charity houses and shrines and conducted schools for laymen Women were ineligible for the order of monks at first Later they were freely admitted Corruption and vice soon stepped in and polluted the sacred atmosphere Brahmanism did not establish Vihāras for their Sanyāsins and discouraged women from asceticism Women and money have been the disruptive forces in all religious institutions [327] Ascetics covered themselves with bark garment or tattered clothes sewn together Some roamed naked They arranged their hair by using the juice of trees Ingudi seedcrush was applied before bath Pindas offered to manes were made of Ingudi and Jujube fruit [328] Manu gives various methods by which Sanyasin is to hasten his death This idea of torturing the flesh to meet death is contrary to Brahmanas [329] The orthodox view is voiced in the following 'If through renunciation any one can get salvation, the mountains and trees would soon attain it.'[330] Gita makes a compromise by reinterpreting renunciation '

Amusements

Gambling was popular ever since the days of Rigveda Two officers controlled the game The manager collected royal dues and the umpire gave decisions Bibhitaka was used in making dice Cowries were also current Draughts were made of four different colours Kings made them out of emerald, gold, ivory and mercury (gilded red) The cubical pieces were arranged on a wooden board with houses The play by proxy was allowed, other party consenting Stakes included all articles of utility. Slaves could be staked Nala lost his kingdom but refused to stake his wife Staking of a wife is unparalleled A gambling house was a rendezvous of all bad characters in society Fraud and deception were common It ruined many an honest man There were public duels (armed and unarmed) of the warriors and gymnasts Men also fought with lions, tigers and elephants [331] Usually all festivals were accompanied with music, dance and dramatic representation Hunting was a favourite pastime with Kshatriyas. The party was accompanied by trained dogs It

was thought respectable for warriors to eat the flesh of the game hunted by them. Travelling was encouraged by making visits to holy shrines a part of religious duty. Corporate travelling was a source of pleasure and knowledge.[332] The king appointed jokers at his court to get relief from tedium of routine.[333]

Ceremonies

Coronation was a very important function. Shāntiparva gives the following description. There is a state processsion. Dharma is seated in a chariot drawn by sixteen white oxen. He resembles king Soma who is carried to the sacrificial ground in an ox-carriage. The streets are adorned with white garlands and flags ; fragrant powd rs are scattered and incense kept burning. Pitchers full of water are placed at the entrance of the hall where charming maidens are awaiting his arrival. The priests consecrated him by sprinkling water fetched from oceans, rivers, ponds, springs and other sources, and reciting holy hymns.[334] The king formally appoints officers to look after various departments, receives gifts from feudatories, rewards friends and servants and destributes charities.[335] The Shatapatha account differs in some respects. Four wooden jars are carried along by the priest, kinsman, friend belonging to his caste and merchant. Seventeen kinds of waters, already procured, are poured into those jars. After the bath he ascends the tiger's skin representing the strength of Soma. He puts on an inner silk-piece and an outer garment of white wool. To these is added a robe. The neckgear is put round the neck and its extremities are tied to the lower garment near the navel. According to others it is to be fastened round the waist (like a girdle). He is then given three arrows and a bow. A eunuch is standing near-by into whose mouth he throws a piece of copper to avoid death from serpents, etc. Afterwards he marches to five directions.[336] A piece of lead, representing Namuchi, is thrown on the ground upon which he treads. On one ankle he puts on Rukma ; a similar ornament is worn on the head for long life. He prays to Varuṇa and Mitra raising his arms aloft. Adhvaryu sprinkles the waters along with others. A chariot is brought in, which he occupies surrounded by a hundred cows. He puts on a pair of shoes made of boar's leather. He is addressed as Arjuna the

secret name of Indra He deserves to be so-called owing to his two-fold capacity viz knight hood and sacrificership Then he bestows rewards He is carried in a royal litter to the gambling hall The play begins Kali is counted as the highest throw [37] The cow is offered as a stake The priest hands over to him a wooden sword [38] The oath of allegiance to be taken by the king is already referred to

Shrādha

Vrsākapi (identified with Mahavaraha himself) appears as the first worshipper of Pitrs He offers three Pindas to the manes The balls are the three lumps of wet earth shaken off from the tusk [39]

Upanayana is another important ceremony when the student is formally given in charge of the preceptor [40]

The ceremony was performed a second time by grown up men, when they wished to learn a new science (विद्या) from a teacher In Upanisads learned Brahmins approach Janaka to get the rare knowledge of Ātma Vidyā Caste-superiority did not prevent higher castes from approaching even a Śudra if he could impart any valuable Vidya [41]

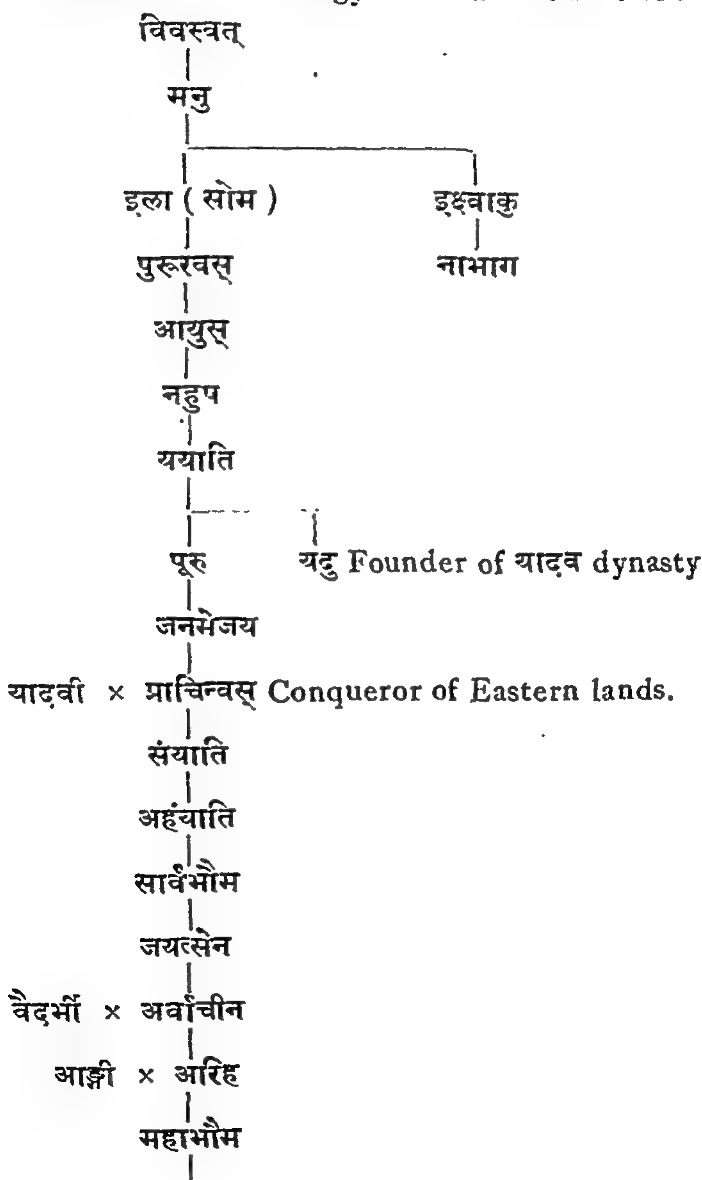
RELATION OF EPICS TO BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE

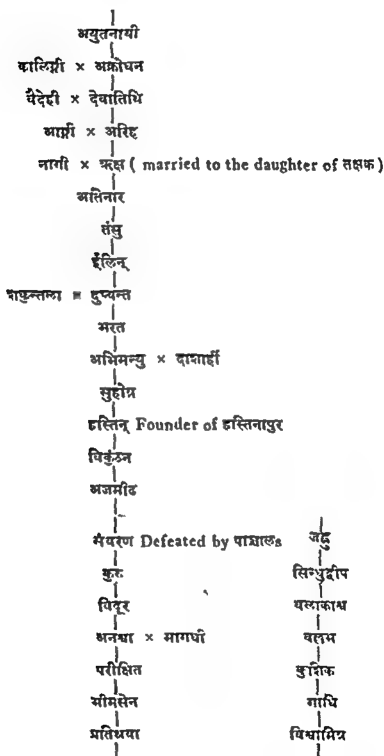
References with Notes and Appendices

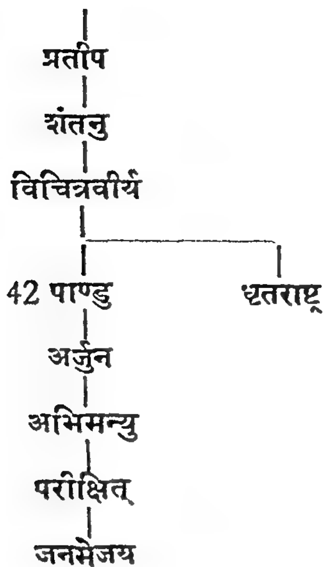
(V. V. Dixit)

(1) Mahābhārata a criticism (C. V. Vaidya).

(2) म. भा. सभा. Genealogy of the Lunar race of kings

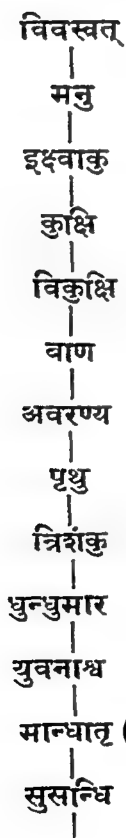



अयुतनायी
कालिङ्गी × अक्रोधन
वैदेही × देवातिथि
आङ्गी × अरिह
नागी × ऋक्ष (married to the daughter of तक्षक)
मतिनार
तंसु
ईलिन्
शकुन्तला = दुष्यन्त
भरत
अभिमन्यु × दाशार्ही
सुहोत्र
हस्तिन् Founder of हस्तिनापुर
विकुण्ठन
अजमीढ
संवरण Defeated by पाञ्चालs
कुरु
विदूर
अनश्वा × मागधी
परीक्षित
भीमसेन
प्रतिश्रवा
जह्नु
सिन्धुद्वीप
बलाकाश्व
वल्लभ
कुशिक
गाधि
विश्वामित्र



मधुच्छन्द देवरात् and others cf. ऐ. ब्रा.

रामायण–सूर्यवंश



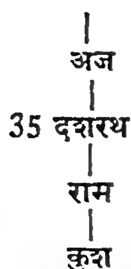
मान्धातृ (गो-ब्रा. refers to him as सोमयाजिन्

ध्रुवसन्धि — प्रसेनजित्

ध्रुवसन्धि
भरत
असित
सगर (poisoned when in the womb of his mother)
असमञ्ज
अंशुमान्
दिलीप
भगीरथ known in connection with the regulation of the Ganges.
ककुत्स्थ
रघु
कल्माषपाद (A cannibal)
शङ्खण
सुदर्शन
अग्निवर्ण
शीघ्रग
मरु
प्रसुश्रुक
अंबरीष
नहुष
ययाति
नाभाग

Genealogy of विदेह kings

विदेह
निमि
मिथि Founder of मिथिला
3 जनक 1st
11 हर्यश्व
20 ह्रस्वरोम
21 जनक II. Father of सीता



(3) तै. ब्रा. रोहिण्यामग्निमादधीत...स्व एव योनौ अन्ततः प्रतिष्ठापयति and also myth of रोहिणी.
श. ब्रा. एता ह वै कृत्तिकाः प्राच्यै दिशो नच्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ति.

(4) Cf. Civilization in Ancient India Vol. II.

(5) Cf. Ancient Sanskrit literature.

(6) Das Mahābhārata.

(7) Frazer quoted in Cambridge History 'कुरुक्षेत्र was already sacred during the days of ताण्डयब्राह्मण.'

(8) See No. 2 विदेह Genealogy.

(9) Cf. अनुशासन, म-भा. The account is partly corroborated by तै. ब्रा. 15. 3. 7. दिवोदासं वै भरद्वाजपुरोहितं नानाजनाः पर्ययतन्त स उपासीददृपे गातुम्मो विन्देति तस्मा एतेन साम्ना गातुमविन्दत् ।

(10) Cf. अथर्वसंहिता. The Geneological tree given in सभा० puts परीक्षित् very much low in the line. जनमेजय of शतपथ and जनमेजय the grandson of अभिमन्यु are quite different personages.

(11) The complexion of Draupadī is dark as her name, viz. कृष्णा, suggests.

(12) See note 2, the line of जन्हु kings. रा. वाल. gives a different list—कुश → कुशनाभ → गाधि → विश्वामित्र. ताण्डय and ऐ. ब्रा. connect विश्वामित्र with the same family (जन्हुs).

(13) श. ब्रा. refers to नड (नल) as a famous king of the tribe (निषधs). भीम the king of विदर्भs is also mentioned there. This shows that Vedic culture has travelled south of Vindhya mountain. नल and भीम are the same as those described in म. भा — वन.

(14) ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 23. When the priest of a certain king demanded his दक्षिणा the former replied 'When I conquer the उत्तरकुरुs thou wouldst be the king of the earth and I thy general'.

(15) श. ब्रा. तां ब्राह्मणा न पुरा तरन्ति अनतिदग्धानि वैश्वानरेणेति The order of colonization was कोसल, विदेह, मगध, अङ्ग, वङ्ग and कामरूप.

(16) Cf Rv कि ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुहे न तपन्ति घर्मम्।

(17) ता मा 25 10 17. King Nami (रामायण निमि) appears as a sacrificer on the bank of सरस्वती. He is the founder of विदेह dynasty

(18) सिधुक्षित् राजन्यर्षि is the author of a hymn of Rv तां मा. mentions another King of Sind, दीर्घश्रवस् (12 12-6)

(19) Cf रा. बाल

(20) म भा मर्त्ये पृथिव्या वाह्लीका etc

(21) ऐ मा. पुलिन्द, मूतिब, बर्बर शक

म भा. आदि gives a longer list of Non-Aryan tribes that were sprung from the body of the cow of वसिष्ठ along with their habitations

सहदेव conquered some of them (सभा०)

(22) रा. भा ı 4 13

(23) म भा Arjuna married उलूपी the Nāga princess for political advantage. ऋक्ष of चन्द्रवंश had contracted a similar match with the daughter of तक्षक, a नागी (Cf note 2)

The Nagas lived in Southern India also (रामा.) ता मा records a सर्पसत्र performed by Sarpas where धृतराष्ट्र, ऐरावत, जनमेजय, अर्बुद (काद्रवेय) and others acted the part of priests सर्पसत्र of जनमेजय described in म भा is different from that of ता ब्राह्मण It is quite possible that परीक्षित् might have been captured in war and offered as a victim to the Gods by Nāgas (Sarpas) जनमेजय avenged his father's death by offering hundreds of Sarpas at the sacrifice He must have made them captives after attacking their strong hold viz. Taxilā पाताल {(पतञ्जल) = lower Sind} was a Naga-Sarpa colony (cf म भा. उद्योग०)

(24) रा iv 41 भोगवती the capital of Sarpas lay to the south of Ceylon Vāsuki was their greatest ruler They appear to be the earlier settlers of India in comparison with the Nāgas नैमिषारण्य on गोमतीतीर was haunted by them

(25) Cf अपहतासुरारक्षांसि वेदिषत , राक्षोघ्नसूक्त in Rv etc

(26) ए मा ते दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठा see note 21

(27) अश्वमेध or राजसूय was performed by a great king The feudatory princes had to make contributions to defray the expenses and attend in person ए मा. viii 21

(28) When विश्वकर्मन् भौवन् gave a piece of land to काश्यप (his priest) the earth protested: 'No man whatever ought to

give me...I shall plunge into the middle of the water. Vain was this thy pact with काश्यप.' Cf. श. ब्रा. xiii. 7. 1. 15.

(29) अथर्ववेद vii. 12. 1. सभा च समितिश्चावतां प्रजापतेर्दुहितरौ संविदाने ।

श. ब्रा. xii. 9. 3. records that पौंसायन was expelled from the throne owing to his misrule. In xiii. 22. An oppressive king is denounced राष्ट्रीविशमत्ति...विशंघातुकः ।

(30) ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 15, श. ब्रा. (iii. 3. 3) describes तानूनप्त्र ceremony. It was a sacred covenant between various individuals or groups who accepted the rule of one chief. The five groups of gods take mutual oath to stand by each other and accept Indra as their overlord. वायु (तनूनप्त्र=vital breath) is a witness to this holy transaction. The sacrificer-king represents Indra and the priests represent the remaining deities. Cf. अथातः समम्रृशन्ति एव एतद्ध देवा भूयः समामिरे इत्थं नः सोऽमुथासत् यो न एतदतिक्रामात्. A curse is pronounced against any one who would turn a traitor. The ceremony is called सत्यं साम and देवजं साम.

(31) जै. ब्रा. iii. शार्यातो मानवो ग्रामेणाध्यवास्यत् म. भा. सभा. सिन्धुकूलश्रिता ये च ग्रामणीया महाबलाः । Megasthenes mentions small republics as well as bigger ones. Sabarcae a powerful tribe (गण) had an army of 60000 soldiers, 6000 horses and 500 chariots. कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र (xi. 1) enumerates the following people who enjoyed a republican form of Government : लिच्छिविक, वृजिक, मल्लक, मद्रक, कुकुर, कुरुपाञ्चाल. म. भा. शल्य० शाल्व is called म्लेच्छगणाधिप.

(32) Muzumdar's corporate life in Ancient India.

(33) म. भा. शां. भेदाद्विनाशः संघानां संघमुख्योऽसि केशव Another hint given to the Gaṇas is न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत.

(34) म. भा. आदि. आचार्यस्त्रिविधा योनी राज्ञां शास्त्रविनिश्चये ।
सत्कुलीनश्च शूरश्च यश्च सेनां प्रकर्षति ॥

देवापि the elder brother of शन्तनु was disqualified for his leprosy and his coronation was cancelled. धृतराष्ट्र was set aside for his blindness. Cf. Rv. iii, 5-7, श. ब्रा. iii. 4. 17 and xiii. 2-2-18.

(35) After the death of दशरथ, it was proposed by some that कौसल्या should be invested with regal powers. Nobody paid any attention to this, thinking that it would be only a temporary measure (रा. अयो०). म. भा. makes a reference to स्त्रीराज्य, but it was not an Aryan kingdom.

(36) There are exceptions to this rule ययाति deprived his elder sons of the right to the throne and appointed पुरु the youngest son as his successor See also note (34)

(37) Out of this list of twelve, 3, 4 and 5 are the wives of the King What functions were exercised by them in the body politic is not clear The remaining nine are concerned with the various departments of the State

(38) कैकयी and कौसल्या in Ramāyana and Draupadi in Mahābhārata wield indirect influence over the course of State affairs नारद warns धर्म against the danger of स्त्रीयाः The influence worked through subterranean channels and as such it was difficult to withstand or resist it

(39) ग्र n 100 The chief minister, Purohita and the Crown prince are to be excluded from surveillance

The other officers (eleven) are

1 The Door keeper, 2 Superintendent of the harem, 3 Inspector of prisons, 4 Pay master (civil), 5 Pay master (military), 6 Officer in charge of the Assembly (सभ्य), 7 Chief Justice, 8 Superintendent of Police 9 Officer in charge of forts, 10 Officer in charge of frontier stations, 11 Officer in charge of internal defence

Cf कौ अर्थ where he makes no exception against the Crown prince

(40) म भा शा 85 The eight ministers may be identical with the cabinet members mentioned on page 11. Or it may be a different body acting as the standing committee of the Legislative Council

(41) According to कौ अर्थ The strength of the Legislative Council varied with the size and population of any State The The decision of the majority was to be accepted by the king रा vi. 63 advises the kings to be on their guard at the time of selecting men for ministerships Cf अशास्त्रविदुषां तेषां कार्यं नाभिहितं वच । अर्थशास्त्रानभिज्ञानां विपुलां श्रियमिच्छता ॥ अशक्यं मन्त्रपाशास्ते कर्तव्या शूरपक्षका ।

(42) मनु vii 116–117 म भा शा gives the same arrangement with the addition of नागरिक to look after the city As regards the duties of a नागरिक cf कौ अर्थ नागरिकप्रणिधि The title स्थपति may refer to the ruler of 1000 villages, cf म भा The five officers

in the villages are प्रशास्तृ (Headman), समाहर्तृ (messenger), संविधाता (Accountant), लेखक (Scribe), साक्षी (Public prosecutor), cf. म. भा. i. 113.

(43) Local customs had the force of law and they were upheld by the king. A man accepted the bride's money (शुल्क) the village court fined him. On appeal to the higher court the fine was refunded and the plea of the accused viz. it was a custom in his family (to accept शुल्क) was accepted as valid.

(44) Cf. Corporate life in Ancient India.

(45) वा. धर्मसूत्र. iii. 4.

(46) रा. बाल. म. भा. सभा. cf. छान्दोग्य v. 11 'न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः।' The ideal State in the epic is more luxurious because of its greater prosperity. Drink and women (courtezans and harlots) stand out prominently in this period. Cf. कौ. अर्थ० on Prostitutes and drinking saloons.

म. भा. शा. न केनचिद्याचितव्यं कश्चित्कस्यांचिदापदि ।
इति व्यवस्था भूतानां पुरस्तान्मनुना कृता ॥

(47) म. भा. सगर deserts his own son for his wickedness.

(48) मनु, कौटिल्य and the epics (in fact all Brahmanical writers) lay special emphasis on चातुर्वर्ण्यरक्षण and चतुराश्रमरक्षण. Together they form the keystone in the arch of social life.

(49) रा. vii. 45 कीर्त्यर्थं तु समारम्भः सर्वेषां सुमहात्मनाम् अप्येतं जीवितं जह्याम्...म. भा. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि...आच्छेताचानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।

(50) म. भा. शा. तस्मान्मिश्रेण सततं वर्तितव्यं युधिष्ठिर। कौटिल्य recommends त्रयीसंवरण for actions of the king; the object is to disarm all opposition. शान्ति० advises him to placate people by performance of sacrifices and other charitable acts (दम्भनार्थं हि लोकस्य धर्मिष्ठामाचरेत्क्रियाम्।).

(51) म. भा. सभा see नारद's questionaire कच्चिन्न श्रद्धास्यासां कच्चिद्गुह्यं न भाषसे। The exemption originally applied to learned Brahmins only. कौटि. अर्थ. धर्मार्थयोरविरोधेन कामं सेवेत ।

(52) म. भा. वन. Three kings present their budgets to अगस्त्य to convince him of their inability to spend more money for a charitable purpose. They seem to consider themselves as

fiduciaries (not the owners as some Indian princes think) of the State property In उद्योग० गरुड remarks to गालव " अर्पाट्य राजा पारान्हि यो नो कुर्यात्प्रार्थिनां । "

(53) म भा. गृध्रदृष्टिर्बकालीन. श्वचेष्ट सिंहविक्रमः ।
अनुद्विग्न: काकशङ्की भुजङ्गचरित चरेत् ॥

(54) ऐ. ब्रा Cf. ऐन्द्रमहाभिषेक श. ब्रा (note 30) मनु, नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपति: । रा महती देवता ह्येष नररूपेण तिष्ठति ।

(55) King वेन's incident is older than the epic

(56) During the Brāhmana period the kings were entirely dependent on the support of their clan. Cf Feudal system in Europe A standing army, paid regularly, considerably strengthened the hands of the rulers

(57) ऐ ब्रा शुनःशेपकथा ता ब्रा 16 1 12 वीरहा वा एष देवाना यः साममभिषुणोति या. (गावः) शतं वैर तहेवानवद्यते । म. भा अश्वमेध. वीरं हि क्षत्रियं हित्वा गोशतेन प्रमुच्यते । This practice persists down to this day in Afganistan, a country where Aryan culture and traditions flourished in ancient times

(58) म भा अश्व० Patricide was severely dealt with

The murderer covered himself in father's skin and wore the skull round his neck Twelve years had to be spent in asceticism in this fashion बौधायनसूत्र recommends 1000 cows for the murder of a क्षत्रिय, 100 for a वैश्य and 10 for a शूद्र. One bull was given to the State (King) for breach of peace

(59) तै ब्रा. III 2 8 तद् ब्रह्महणे नात्यच्ययत । Cf the effect of ब्रह्महत्या on इन्द्र म भा उद्योग तै ब्रा. and ऐ ब्रा

म. भा. शा, विधीयते न शारीरं दण्डमेषां कथं चन ।

A Brahman thief was considered to be a serious reflection on the King's Government

(60) प्रजापति's incest with his daughter (ऐ ब्रा. श ब्रा) रा. (iv 18) adds intercourse with younger brother's wife to the list —

औरसीं भगिनीं भार्यां वाप्यनुजस्य यः प्रचरेत नरः कामात्तस्य दण्डो वधः स्मृत. । Cf. Rv. x the dialogue between यम and यमी. This was looked upon as a heinous sin yet there is no mention of capital punishment for it in Rv or ब्राह्मणs

(61) म. भा शा. लिखित was punished with amputation of his arm which plucked the fruit of a tree owned by his brother in his absence without permission

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र prescribes a curious penance for adultery. the culprit kills an ass and puts on his skin. He then goes about declaring his sin to every person he meets. A गुरुतल्पग cut off his genital organ and wandered as a recluse for life.

(62) In the case of a prince adultery and stealing Brahman's wealth are punished with exile (रा. ii. 72). म. भा, शा. prescribes penance for two years for the former offence. Another form of punishment during the epic period was to keep an adulterer in a dry pit or well for a year. Cf. The etymology of the word कौपिन. Polyandry is declared unlawful and it is a thing to be abhorred. It is on the same footing as adultery. म. भा. सभा. कर्ण declares द्रौपदी a harlot (बन्धकी) in the eye of the law. Cf. The protest of धृष्टद्युम्न and his father द्रुपद before द्रौपदी's marriage.

Among unnatural offences आस्यमैथुन is noted in म भा. Throughout Vedic and epic literature there is no reference to sodomy, a fact worthy of notice. Masterbation is alluded to in स्मृतिs (अवकीर्णी) indirectly and directly in वात्स्यायनकामसूत्र.

(63) Cf. The episode of ब्रह्मजाया who was kidnapped. (Rv.) The same story is repeated in म. भा. Cf. तारा's unlawful intimacy with the moon. श. ब्रा. ii. 4. 3. The wife of a sacrificer is to declare her guilt so that the burden of sin may be light (निरुक्तं वा एनः कनीयो भवति ।). याज्ञवल्क्य shows the same leniency to women (Cf. आचाराध्याय).

(64) रा. उत्तर० शम्बूक's punishment for practising penance. ऐ. ब्रा. ii. 19 Exile of कवषऐलूष for his participation at a sacrifice. The death of यतिs on whom hyenas were let loose by इन्द्र (इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् repeated frequently in ता. ब्रा.). They were punished for their heresy (or atheism ?) To disguise oneself as a man belonging to a higher caste, concealing one's true caste, is also a serious crime. Such crimes must have been frequently committed by ambitious men of low birth as the society afforded them little scope in their own sphere. Cf. The dishonour to which कर्ण was subjected at the time of द्रौपदी's स्वयंवर and the tournaments of हस्तिनापुर simply owing to his alleged low status in society. The evil was less pernicious so long as the three castes married frequently amongst themselves and formed a compact body. Only Shūdras suffered from social disabilities. The growth of the evil led to Budhistic Revolution

which tried to break down the social structure based on prerogatives of birth

(65) कीर्तितकि मा. The mutual oath at the time of coronation Cf श मा. तानूनप्त्र म भा व पुरुर issued a proclamation prohibiting citizens and other subjects from having any dealing whatsoever (of a friendly or sympathetic character) towards their ex king नए who was exiled

(66) का अर्थ.

(67) वृह. स्मृति and गौतमधर्मसूत्र

(68) Cf The conviction of कयपंगुलुय पे मा.

(69) मनु xii 110–113 the composition is as follows 3 वैदिक, 1 नैयायिर, 1 मामासर, 1 नैरक्त, 1 स्मार्त, 1 ब्रह्मचारिन् (नैष्ठिक?) 1 गृहस्थ and 1 वानप्रस्थ = (10)

(70) Cf The Supreme Court of U S A as a parallel

(71) म भा वन

(i) अबुद्धिमाश्रिताना तु क्षन्तव्यमपराधिनाम् (This covers accidental injury or death Cf The case of the of a Brahman boy in ब्राह्मण ht)

(ii) सर्वस्वंचाऽपराधस्ते क्षन्तव्य द्वितीये सति वध्यस्तु स्वल्पेऽप्यपकृते भवेत्।

(iii) जानता तु कृत पापं गुरु सर्वं भवत्युत etc

शान्ति (iv) आततायी हि यो हन्यादाततायिनमागतम् न तेन भ्रूणहा स स्यात्। Cf मनु गुरु वा बालवृद्ध वा ब्राह्मण वा बहुश्रुतम् आततायिनमायान्त हन्यादेवाविचारयन्।

(72) जनरपसूत्र लिच्छविs and शाक्यs had such a Judicial System It afforded the maximum safety and fairness to the accused person

(7) रा ii 80 Geologists, diggers, guides, engineers, builders, woodcutters etc go ahead of troops to prepare the road for an army when the way lies through a Jungle or hilly tract

(74) Axe was the favourite weapon of परशुराम. Cf पृथुपर्शव Rv. in the fight of ten kings म भा. उद्योग तोमर, कुन्तर, मुद्गर, शक्ति गदा, असि etc were used by the infantry Tips of तोमरs were poisoned

(75) म भा ii 61

(76) Each अक्षौहिणी contains 21870 chariots and elephants It is divided into ten divisions A division is progressively split up into 3 parts until the lowest unit (पत्ति) is reached

कौ. अर्थ॰ gives different kinds of armies and discusses their relative utility. Cf. मित्रबल, कुप्यबल, अटवीबल, भृतबल and श्रेणीबल. भृत(paid)बल is the best. श्रेणीबल comes next. It is better than मित्रबल which stands third.

(77) रा. ii. 100. Besides pay they received rations.

(78) म. भा. उद्योग. Cf. The proportion of कौरव-पाण्डवसेना.

(79) म. भा. शान्ति.

(80) रघुवंश iv. The Aṅgas had a strong fleet. (नौसाधनोद्यतान् अङ्गान्।) In ब्राह्मण literature we hardly meet with any reference to a naval force. Here and there we find boats mentioned (ऐत्रा. यज्ञो वै सुतर्मा नौ वाग्वै etc.). Ṛgvedic period was more active in sea-faring than the ब्राह्मणs. Cf. वसिष्ठ's prayer to वरुण (Rv. vii.). Also the hymn to Uṣas (Rv. i) ये अस्या आचरणेषु दध्रिरे समुद्रे न श्रवस्यवः। There is a distinct reference here to a merchant fleet. The Indian sea-board was mostly occupied by Non-Aryan kingdoms. It is curious that राम did not think of using ships to cross the sea, but built a colossal bridge instead. We may infer that the art of navigation received a set-back after Vedic (early) age.

(81) मनु vii. 114.

(82) मनु vii. 130, 137 & 138.

(83) See note (82). Corvée was current in the epic period. रा. ii. 127. विष्टीरनेकसाहस्त्री चोदयामास पार्थिवः।

(84) म. भा. ii. 5.

(85) See note 58. The coins came into vogue during the later part of the epic. During ब्राह्मण period the cow served as the measure of wealth. Cf. कौ. अर्थ. on different grades of fine : पूर्वसाहस, उत्तमसाहस, मध्यमसाहस according to the gravity of offence.

(86) म. भा. वि. cf. गोधन of king विराट also वन॰ रमारणे समयः प्राप्तो वत्सानामपि चाङ्कनम्। कौ. अर्थ. gives minute details about the management of a cattle farm owned by the State. The profession was looked upon as a monopoly of वैश्यs.

For a set of six cows that he managed he received milk of one cow. In addition to this he got two per cent of the total increment of the live-stock per annum. कौ. अर्थ. gives further details about the distribution of skin, hide, horns and hoof of the dead animals.

८ म भा. शान्ति प्रजापतिर्हि वैश्याय सृष्ट्वा परिददौ पशून् the Brahmanas also agree with this

(87) शान्ति. They were licensed and kept under strict surveillance by the state अक्षावाप shows that gambling was controlled during the Brâhmana period by state. Control on liquor was not in vogue in preepic days, cf कौटिल्य also

(88) Brâhmans are excluded शान्ति. अब्राह्मणानां वित्तस्य स्वामी राजेति वैदिकम्।

(89) सभा (म भा) प्रत्येकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददामि ऋण .

(90) See note 52 So also Indra's share Money spent on gambling, sport, drink and women was to be kept confidential (सभा)

(91) Cf वेन's administration.

(92) This is the maximum 4 I is the minimum (सभा. नारदप्रश्न), कौटिल्य recognises the value of money as the basis of state यस्मिन् धर्ममित्याहु धनादेव प्रवर्तते।

(93) आदि म भा. cf कौटिल्य cf defence of कृष्ण in गदापर्व where he quotes इन्द्र's policy towards वृत्र Women used as instruments of destruction cf death of मय (रा ıı) तै ब्रा. 1 7 1. नमुचि's death (आदि. म. भा) दुर्योधन talks of secret assasination of भीम, use of beautiful women to decoy पाण्डव्s away from द्रौपदी आश्रम (म भा) सर्वं बल्वता धर्मं।

For home Policy पौरमघातभेदन was essential and hypocrisy प्रहरिष्यन् प्रिय ब्रूयात् ।

(94) नाराजके जनपदे etc रा ıı 67; म भा xıı 66, 67

(95) शत ६ı 1 1 ९ तै ब्रा ıı 8 96 (contd) ताण्ड्य 20 15 2, प्रजापति was alone His nature was Vâk second to Him He wanted to give a definite shape to shapeless cosmos He sent out Vâk thrice by splitting it up into three divisions Each generated heaven, atmostphere and earth the three syllables generate सूर्य, वायु, अग्नि cf. निरुक्त गो ब्रा. divides the mystic syllable ॐ (logos) into two letters and four syllabic instantes, with first letter he saw भू (स्याम्ति), all worlds, desires and deities, with the second all luminaries

1st मात्रा = ऋग्वेद, भूमि, अग्नि, वसन्त, निद्रा
2nd मात्रा = यजुर्वेद, वायु, ग्रीष्म, प्राण etc

3rd मात्रा = सामवेद, आदित्य, दर्शन etc.

4th अथर्व०...

cf. भग. गीता ॐ मित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म ।

(96) शत. ii 1. 5

(97) शत. See मनु. अप एव ससर्जादौ तासु बीजम वासृजत् तदण्डमभवद्धैमम्... (i. 8, 9)

म. भा. शान्ति. अव्यक्त (मानसेश्वर →महत्→अहंकार →आकाश→वारि etc... विष्णु is identified with महत् who is described like पुरुष in R. V. शैलास्तस्यास्थिसंज्ञास्तु मेदोमांसश्च मेदिनी समुद्रास्तस्य रुधिरमाकाशमुदरं तथा... ।

Cf. R. V. (x. 129. 4) कामस्तदग्रेसमवर्तताधि मनसो रेतः प्रथमं य आसीत्

Cf. उप. आत्मनः आकाशः संभूतः आकाशाद्वायुः etc. cf. Genesis (old Testament),

(98) Cf. गीता-सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः

(99) विष्णुर्वैयज्ञः others are अग्नि, प्रजापति, संवत्सर.

(100) Literary History of India, traces of totemism are discovered in the Brāhmaṇas. यजमान puts on कृष्णाजिन covering and rubs himself with the horn of the antelope. He puts on a head-dress of grass. अथ कृष्ण विषाणाँ सिंचि बध्नीते iii. 1, 5. 18. 31. तस्माद्दीक्षितः कृष्णविषाणयैवकण्डूयेत ।

(101) अग्नि = होतृ, अश्विनs = अध्वर्यु, गो. ब्रा. gives वायु = अध्वर्यु, सूर्य = उद्गातृ, चन्द्रमा = ब्रह्मा, पर्जन्य = सदस्य, विश्वेदेवाः = होत्रकाः, ऐ. ब्रा. makes अग्नि = पशु.

(102) रथचक्रं प्रवर्तयति मनुष्यरथेनैव देवरथं प्रत्यवरोहति (तै. ब्रा. i. 6) देवान्भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः (गीता.); cf. यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः R. V. (x. 90. 16) ब्रह्मा finding he could not attain to infinitude resolved to offer up himself in created things and thus attained self effulgence and supreme dominion (शत. xiii. 7. 1. 1) महादेवः सर्वं यज्ञो महात्मा हुत्वात्मानं देवदेवो बभूव (शान्ति.).

(103) उच्छेषणाद्वा अदिती रेतो धत्त (तै. ब्रा.); cf.पुत्रकामेष्टि in रामायण and the birth of परशुराम (म. भा.) उच्छिष्ट contains all gods, men, animals, Vedas etc (अथर्व.). यज्ञशिष्टाशिनःसन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वं किल्बिषैः गीता (3. 13).

(104) तै. ब्रा. 1. 1. 10 Five is a mystic number, cf. पांक्तोहविः पांक्तोयज्ञः पांक्तः पशुः पंचाग्नयः पंचव्याहृतयः ।

(105) प्राण = आहवनीय, उदान = गार्हपत्य, व्यान = अन्वाहार्यपचन (शत. ii. 1. 6. 18).

(106) आत्मा = यजमानः, शरीर = इध्म, उरस् = वेदि, श्रद्धा = पत्नी लोमानि = बर्हिः, काम = आज्यं etc.

(107) ज्ञानेन दुर्गं न तरन्ति यज्ञैः, कि ते धनं यान्धवर्वा किंते दारैर्ब्राह्मण यो मरिष्यसि, कि प्रजया करिष्यामः।

(108) श्रेयान् द्रव्यमया यज्ञाज्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप also अपाने जुह्वति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथापरे...., अपरे नियताहाराः प्राणान्प्राणेषु जुह्वति। (गीता) (iv. 33, 29, 30)

(109) The clue is already furnished by ब्राह्मण. cf. ऐ. ब्रा. पुरुषेभ्यो वै मेधा उदक्रामन्।

(110) शान्ति अनु

(111) अनु. (म. भा.)

(112) ऐ. ब्रा. & ताण्ड्य. ब्रा.

(113) Cf. तीर्थयात्रा of बलराम with a retinue, also वनपर्व.

(114) तै. ब्रा. iii 9. 6 द्रौपदी and कौसल्या perform this duty (म. भा. अश्व. & रा. बाल.). This revolting ceremony is not found in ऐ. ब्रा. and may be attributed to Dravidian influence along with the worship of Phallus.

(115) द्वादशरात्रहविरिष्टि.

(116) ताण्ड्य & शत.

(117) तै. ब्रा. iii. 9. 14 ऐ. आ. describes how sixteen young ladies surround the priest, seated on a swing and sing songs. cf. christmas festival.

(118) तै. ब्रा. 1. 2. 6 also ताण्ड्य. The conversation between the bachelor and the prostitute indicates the presence of sexual orgy (तै. आ.)

+ (119) शुनः शेप legend (ऐ. ब्रा.). तै ब्रा. gives the test of human victims.

(119) Deities are fond of special victims (ताण्ड्य. ब्रा.) वरुण = अश्व, रुद्र = गो, अग्नि = अज, त्वष्टृ = अवि. पूषन् = उष्ट्र + (later discarded), वायु = मृग, प्रजापति = पुरुष, हस्तिन् +, वराह +, गौरि, क्षेत्र-पति = तित्त, माया = , सवितृ = अश्वतर +

(120) शत, ऐ. ब्रा. यजमानो ह वा एष निदानेन यत्पशुः।

(121) सांख्य philosophy & Pessimism of Upanishad.

(122) यं द्विष्यात्तं ध्यायेत्, ब्रह्मणः परिमरः (ऐ. ब्रा. viii. 27).

(123) श. गदा. (म. भा.) also श्येनयाग & द्रुपद's यज्ञ.

(124) Cf. नवान्नेष्टि, शुनासीरीय, अयज्ञो वा एष योऽपत्नीकः, cf. the golden image of Sita in रामायण. तद्दस्मैतत्पुरा जायैव हविष्कृदुपोत्तिष्ठति ज. i. 1. 4. 13.

(125) ऋतस्य नाभिः, Cf. the construction of the alter in तै. ब्रा. where all measures of time are represented by bricks. 179 in number, शत. gives another method which includes all deities.

(126) R. Smith ' History of Semites '.

(127) शत. on रुद्र, कुबेर, वैश्रवण (king of राक्षस).

(128) शत. xiv.

(129) मा शिस्नदेवा अपि गु ऋतं नः Rv म. भा. द्रोण., रामा.

(130) न च मेध्यतरं किञ्चित्स्मशानादिह लक्ष्यते (शान्ति.)।

(131) शत. 6. 1. 3. etc.

(132) द्रोण. (म. भा.) य एष रुद्रभक्तश्च केशवो रुद्रसंभवः ।

(133) तै. ब्रा. i. 7. 1 प्रल्हाद कायाधव is mentioned (i. 5. 10.) शत. vii. 4. 1. 5. कश्यपो वै कूर्मः

(134) मन्मनाभव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु, सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज. (गीता) cf. बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि etc. of Budhism.

(135) द्विभाग इन्द्रस्तृतीयो विष्णुः (तै. ब्रा.) उभा जिग्यथुः... त्रेध सहस्रं (R. V.).

(136) रा. वा. अयोध्या See शत. यजमान has to sleep in th अग्न्यागार for a night.

(137) Cf. राधा, अहल्या; दक्षक्रतुध्वंस.

(138) Cf. षष्ठीपूजन (कादम्बरी).

(139) Cf. हनूमत् worship in Deccan.

(140) सीधुमांसपशुप्रिये, कौशिकी.

(141) रामा iii. 12 कुबेर, अनन्तनाग, कार्तिकेय with gods.

(142) शत ii. 5. 3 त्र्यंबकयाग.

(143) गणानां पतये: नमः (रुद्राध्याय) शान्ति. म. भा. रक्तमाल्यांबरधर.

(144) शान्ति. याज्ञ.

(145) तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीत (छां. उ.)

(146) Cf. वाज. संहिता.

(147) अथर्ववेद 5. 7. 1, 5 cf. the initiation of a pagan to christianity when liquor is used. cf. Fidessa and Duessa of Spencer's fairy queen' अश्रद्धधानश्च संशयात्मा विनश्यति अश्रध्दया हुतं दत्तं तपस्तप्तं कृतं च यत् असत् इत्युच्यते गीता (४. ४० and १७. २८)

(148) गीता, cf. श्रद्धयाग्निः समिध्यते श्रध्दया हूयते हविः R. V. (x. 151) लोभो धर्मस्य नाशाय (सभा. म. भा.)

(149) म. भा. शान्ति. इन्द्र & वरुण as adulterers and vicious gods.

(150) आश्रम० म. भा. सर्वं सत्यवतां शुचि सर्वं सत्यवतां धर्मः

(151) तै. ब्रा. iii. 10.

(152) शत. x. 1. 5.

(153) तै. ब्रा. & शत. vi. 5. 4. 8 रामा v. 9 याश्चयवन्तेऽम्बरात्तारा: पुण्यशेष समावृता:

(154) Cf. modern practices cf. पञ्चामृतस्नान in daily worship. अ. वे. xii. 3. 17 सैआययासहपुत्रैः स्याम् vi. 120 शत. x. 4. 4. 4.

(155) म. भा. अनु० ·

(156) पितृभिः सहमालोक्य मामयासौवृकोदरः (सभा. मभा.), धर्मराज, यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति R. V. (x. 14. 8.)

(157) रामा. i. 45, 46 म. भा. वन. रामा. उ. vii. 25 cf. Houris of Kuran.

(158) शत. xi. 4. 4. 1 cf. कौषीतकि उप. the travel of the spirit.

(159) म. भा. द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ ...सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ परिव्राड्योग युक्तश्च रणेचाभिमुखो हतः मुण्डक सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति.

(160) मभा. वन. शत. x. 5. 4. 15, xi. 2. 6. 13, कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुर्विद्यया च प्रमुच्यते.

(161) Cf. स्वर्गारोहण. मभा.

(162) बृहदार. उप. शत. xi. 6. 1.

(163) Cf. सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वात आत्मा Rv. (x. 16. 3)

(164) असूर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसा वृताः (मभा. शा.) अन्धंतमः प्रविशन्ति ये अविद्यामुपासते (ईश)

(165) स्वर्गो. मभा. & कौषीतकी.

(166) ऐ. ब्रा. ii. 17 ताण्ड्य. 21. 1, 9 शान्ति, म. भा.

(167) शान्ति. न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत्....कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् । There is no suggestion made that the system is divinely ordained cf. गीता चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्म विभागशः (iv. 13)

(168) शत. ii.1.6 द्वयावैदेवा देवाः आहुतिभिरेवदेवान्प्रीणाति दक्षिणाभिर्मनुष्य देवान्. शान्ति. ब्राम्हणो ...ईश्वरः सर्वं भूतानां धर्मकोपस्य गुप्तये. मनु॰i. 99

(169) अनु. पत्यभावे यथैव स्त्री देवरं कुरुतेपतिं आनन्तर्यात्तथाक्षत्रं पृथिवी कुरुते पतिं Cf. The claim put forth by the Papal power in Medieval Europe.

(170) ऐ. ब्रा. vii. 22.

(171) ऐ. ब्रा. Cf. युधिष्टिर in मभा.

(172) अनु. मभा. आदि. आसीनं च शयानं च पिता ते पितरं मम । स्तौति वन्दीव चाभीक्ष्णं नीचैःस्थित्वा विनीतवत्.

(173) गोपथब्रा. 1. 2. 21, 23 cf. शान्ति. वृपलीपति, नर्तक, ग्रामप्रेष्य पिशुन are shûdra like अनु. क्षत्रियापति, मृत निर्यातक etc. cf. ऐ. ब्रा. father of. शुनः शेप. दासनीयाश्च सर्वशः (सभा॰)

(174) ऐ. ब्रा.

(175) शान्ति. a आश्रम. (मभा.)

(176) वैश्यस्तोम ताण्डय. ब्रा.

(177) Cf. कवषऐल्लष's story in ऐत- ब्रा. मनु. रा. उत्तर. शम्बूक.

(178) कात्या. श्रौ. सू & आश्व. गृह्य.

(179) वाज. सं. refers to a rich Shûdra. शान्ति. पैजवन is a charitable शूद्र giving alms in thousands.

(180) शान्ति.

(181) Cf. white civilization in relation to Negroes, Africans and others.

(182) कवष ऐलूष (ऐ. ब्रा.) रैक्क (छान्दो.) of. मभा. आदि. अविवाह्याहि राजानो देवयानि पितुस्तव but क्षत्रं ब्रह्मेण संसृष्टं...is the old custom.

(183) Cf. मभा. शा. आर्यवर्णेषु शूद्राश्चापि तपोधनाः, अनु.

(184) मभा वर्णोत्कर्षमवाप्नोति नरः पुण्येन कर्मणा cf. मनु. A क्षत्रिय lost his caste after three generations by following agriculture etc. cf. गोपथ.

(185) ऐ. ब्रा. v. 14 नाभानेदिष्ट मानव.

(186) (2) Condemnation of शुल्क in स्मृतिs and मभा. shows the strength of the usage.

Cf अथर्व हि भूरिदावत्तरा वा विजामातुग्त वाधा स्यालात् (R V) cf आप विवाह (आ गृह्य माघवीतन्या (मभा उद्योग)

(1) मभा अनु , ताण्डय तस्माद्य पुत्राणा दाय धनतम मिर्जैपैति शूद्रापुत्र received the minimum share, during father's life time and maintenance after his death

(187) व्यक्मे व्य पुसे जुहोति यद्दीम्य इव स्त्रीम्य तस्मादपि व्यस्य पुमो यन्वो जाया भवन्ति cf रशना & यूप शत ix 1

(188) का वा शयुत्रा विधवत्र इवर मर्यव योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ (R V) पत्यभावे यथैव स्त्री इवर कुरुते पति अनु मभा cf the birth of धृतराष्ट्र पाण्डु and विदुर, दवर (द्वितीयोवर) यास्क (निरुक्त)

(189) सनत्कुमार s simile of Fire and wind मभा क्षेत्रज is however mentioned in M Bharata & मनु मे स 4 6 4 and 1 10 11

(190) तस्मात्पुमान्दायादोऽदायादास्त्रीति विज्ञायते तस्मात्स्त्रिय जाता परास्यन्ति न पुमास निरुक्त (अ० 3 4) अनृत वा एष करोति य पत्यु क्रीता सत्यन्यथान्यैश्चरति

शासद्वह्निर्दुहितुर्नप्त्य गात् etc R. V

मनु अविशेषेण पुत्राणा दाया भवति धर्मत मिथुनाना दत्त क्रीतक कृत्रिम क्षेत्रजौरसा पुत्रा

(191) गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् (R V) cf स्त्रीधनकल्प (कौटिल्य अथ)

(192) कौटिल्य अर्थ

(193) + याज्ञ ii 180 मनु viii 41 + मभा शान्ति विनय पीटक iv, 226

(194) मभा वन also कौटिल्य मृच्छकटिक mentions स्कन्द as a god of thieves

(195) ताण्डय ब्रा 17 14 2	रामा युद्ध 28
10 सहस्र = अयुत	gives another
10 अयुत = प्रयुत	system based on
10 प्रयुत = नियुत	100 (centinal)
10 नियुत = अर्बुद	the highest term being महौघ
10 अर्बुद = न्यर्बुद	Modern terminology
10 न्यर्बुद = निखर्व	is a combination of two
10 निखर्व = पद्म (पद्द)	निखर्व ?
10 पद्म = अक्षित	सहस्र and decimal
10 अक्षित = गौ	system is from TA

(196) रोहिण्यामग्निमादधीत (तै. ब्रा.), शत. एतावै कृत्तिकाः ...मभा wrongly connects रोहिणी with the moon. cf. प्रजापति's incest with his daughter and ब्रह्मा's with सरस्वती.?

(197) द्वादशाहसत्र, द्वादशयून्यदगोह्यस्यातिथ्ये रणनृभवः (R. V.) पंचमे पंचमे वर्षे द्वौमासौ उपजायतः (विराट), Five year cycle संवत्सर परिवत्सर etc. तै. & ताण्डव 17. 13. 17 cf. वेदा य उपजायते. A month was subdivided into, 5 weeks of 6 days each cf. गवामयन ताब्रा.

(198) अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन्नह्यान्ये अशक्नुवन् (R. V.) आसुरः आदित्यं तमसाविध्यत् तस्यात्रिर्भासेन तमोऽपाहन् (T. B. 14. 11. 14).

(199) शल्यगदा पर्व मभा. cf. गर्गसंहिता.

(200) तै. ब्रा. i. 5. 2 यमनक्षत्रs अनुराधा to भरणी देव ... कृत्तिका to विशाखा, मूल (बर्हणी) is inauspicious to असुरs cf. रा. अयो. अवष्टब्धं च मे राम नक्षत्रं दारुणैर्ग्रहैः;...सूर्याङ्गारकराहुभिः राजाहि मृत्यु माप्नोति घोरां वापदमृच्छति cf. The position of planets on the eve of M. war and death of Krishna. The star Sirius is famous in the epic and classical literature. cf. रघुवंशः प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोनेर्महौजसः (4. 21.)

(201) ऐ. ब्रा. cf. अनुस्तरणी at the funeral आ. गृह्य. iv. and रा. vi. 112. [cf. चिकित्सित (मभा. शां.) The cow in the vedic period was replaced by a goat during the epic period.

(202) The story of च्यवन. कृष्णात्रेय is the founder.

(203) रा. बाल. 49 मेषस्य वृषणौ गृह्य शक्रायाशु प्रयच्छथ शान्ति. इन्द्रो मेषवृषणत्वं प्राप्त cf. also ययाति.

(204) Antiquity of Hindu Medicine.

(205) अथर्ववेद is full of such charms cf. शत. ताण्डय. अर्बुद as maker of spells उद्योग. मभा. mentions जंभसाधक ब्राह्मणs who were alchemists.

(206) Cf. सर्पविद्या. The caravan addresses दमयन्ती as निशाचरी राक्षसी, यक्षी, पिशाची cf. यातुधान.

(207) Cf. प्रमद्वरा's case (मभा.), the physician bribed by तक्षक.

(208) अस्थिज, तनूज, त्वक्ज and कृत्याकृत तै. ब्रा. 2. 4. 4.

(209) Cf. हृदयजंहि & cordial (good to the heart).

(210) Cf. विचित्रवीर्य's case मभा. आदि.

(211) वृषभानपि जानामि...येषांमूत्रमुपाघ्रायापिवन्ध्या प्रसूयते (मभा. विराट.)

(212) कृष्ण is योगेश्वर cf. ऊर्ध्वरेतसः ऋषयः in सभापर्व. शान्ति. अनु.

(213) Typical features of man & woman (राम & सीता)

(214) i कुलिङ्ग class रामा. ix 59.
ii वलिमीत ,, Their motion is minuately.
iii भास ,, examined.
iv श्येन ,, cf वर्ण मना हमकारनाल्यान
v गृध्र ,,
vi हंस ,, तित्तिरि, भरद्वाज, मयूर, कपिञ्ज्ल.
vii वैनतेय ,,

(215) रा बाल 6 the elephants are divided into three categories, according to their size

	Length	Height	Girth
मृग	7	5	8
मन्द्र	8	6	9
भद्र	9	7	10

By cross breeding 4 mixed types are evolved They were captured in Vindhya & Himalayan forests

White elephants were prized most cf ऐरावत & eleplants at लंका (रा V 4) This explains why Buddhists look upon a white elephant as divine

(216) यथा सैन्धवो महाजव पड्वीशाद् ह्न् . (उप) सैन्धवै वाजिभि is common in म भा काश्मीरिव तुरङ्गमी Kashmerian mare was remarkable for her gait (म भा. विराट) काम्बोज, वनायुज also

(217) Cf शुनश्शेप शुनस्कर्ण also R. V In रा. a troop of dogs was presented by अश्वपति to भरत cf युधिष्ठिर's dog (स्वर्गा म. भा)

(218) भीष्मपर्व The idea that the earth is unsupported and is moving down and down eternally is cited and contradicted. द्वीपs are 7, 8 or 9 in number. The Brahmanas have not attempted any such division Only verious Lokas are mentioned

(219) Cf सो अङ्ग वेद यदिवा न वेद (R V x)

(220) प्रवह controls clouds and lightning
आवह . the rise of luminaries
उद्वह absorbs sea moisture
संवह carrier of balloons
विवह causes storms etc.
परिवह causes the waxing of the moon.
परावह deprives men of their breath.
Vedic Maruts are 8 in number,

(221) क्रतुमयः पुरुषः यथाक्रतु ... छान्दोग्य.

(222) रा. अयो. कश्च दैवेन सौमित्रे योद्धुमुत्सहते पुमान् नेशोऽयं सततं देहा नृपते पुण्यपापयोः (शान्ति.) २३ वीराः संभावितात्मानो न दैवं पर्युपासते ।

(223) कलानां पृथगर्थानां प्रतिभेदः क्षणेक्षणे + वर्तते सर्वभूतेषु सौक्ष्म्यात्तु न विभाव्यते न चैषामत्ययो राजन् प्रभवो नच लक्ष्यते अवस्थायामवस्थायां दीपस्थर्याचिषां गतिः cf. सप्तभङ्गीन्याय of जैनs & क्षणिकवाद of बुद्धs cf. Creative evolution. Bergson cf. आत्मा हि जज्ञे आत्मनः The original seed persists though individuals perish बीजाद्वीजं प्रवर्तते ।

(224) न प्रेत्य संज्ञास्ति, cf. स्थितो मनसि यो भावः स वै क्षेत्रज्ञ उच्यते, ... मति क उच्छेदः शाश्वतो वा कथं भवेत् ।

(225) R.V. द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति, for प्रकृति & गुणs अजामेकां लोहितां etc. श्वेताश्व० चतुर्व्यूह is सांख्य made Deistic.

+ (226) Cf. उभयं वै प्रजापतिः निरुक्तश्च अनिरुक्तश्च परिमितश्चापरिमितश्च, cf. गीता. He entered beings and gave them name and form (तै.ब्रा. 2. 2. 7.), cf. त्रिवृत्करण.

(226) God is finite, Highest Principle is infinite. Gitā sharply distinguishes them, though immutability of the Highest principle is stressed still from a higher point of view Brahman is incomprehensibe cf नेति नेति.

(227) रा. ii. 109, Vedic bards had to win such fellows with persuasion, cf. श्रदस्मै धत्त सजनास इन्द्रः ।

(228) वन. dialogue between धर्म & नहुष शान्ति. सभा.

(229) Cf. प्रल्हाद's legend:धर्म, सत्य. वृत्त etc. depart when शील is gone.

(230) Cf. शत. ii. 4. 20, ब्रह्मकपालवन्दन for ब्रह्महत्या in म. भा. cf. पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र on atonement. A गुरुतल्पी had to cut of his organ and wander begging for years.

(231) वैश्यतुलाधारकथा (शान्ति.) As the caste rules hardened क्षत्रिययाजक and ब्राह्मणयोद्धृ were condemned, cf. द्रोण. (म. भा.)

(232) राजदण्डभयादेके ...पापाः पापं न कुर्वते यमदण्डपरस्परभयादेके... शान्ति).

(233)Cf. कौषीतकि उपनिषद् , ब्रह्मणः परिमर. (ऐ. ब्रा.)

(233) Cf. the priest seething in a hell pit because he advised Somaka king to sacrific his son. सभा वन.

(234) 'Gita' aims at creating such men.

(235) रा. vii.78. स्वदारार्त त्वयापुष्टं कुर्वता तप मुत्तमम्। दत्तं न तेऽस्ति सूक्ष्मोऽपि ... बाध्यसे क्षुत्पिपासया, cf, श्रद्धयाग्निः समिध्यते...।

(236) Cf. म. भा. अश्व. नकुल's legend.

(237) यद्यदात्मनि चेच्छेत तत्परस्यापि चिन्तयेत् शान्ति. म. भा. but यं द्विष्यात्तं ध्यायेत् (तै. ब्रा.)।

(238) गुरुत्वेपि गुर्वर्थं न दूषयन्ति मानवं is an older view later disapproved. निक्षिते परदार्थं च तद्धर्मस्य न दूषणम्।

(239) अश्व. सभा. The dispute about the priority of mind to words is quoted from Tait. San. cf. शत. मन एव त्वच्छ्रेयो मनसो वै त्वं कृतानुकरानुवर्त्मासि cf. शिक्षा, आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान्मनो युंक्ते विवक्षया...

(240) This is suggested by a similar dispute between organs in which आत्मन् is proved to be a king as body would fall without it (छां.).

(241) Cf. सुलभाजनकसंवाद, prattle of शेतर ऐ. ब्रा. vi. 33. wife of पतंचल काप्य सुलभा enumerates the defects of speech. Speech is defective (i) when it is not उपेतार्थ, अभिन्नार्थ, न्यायवृत्त (ii) when it is अधिक सन्दिग्ध, गुर्वक्षरसंयुक्त, अनृत, त्रिवर्गविरुद्ध, असंस्कृत, न्यून, त्रिवर्गविरुद्ध, पश्चाद, सदोष, निष्कारण अहेतुक, दोष are (i) cf. words (ii) and sense (म. भा.) *five fold syllogism* पंचावयवयुक्तस्य वाक्यस्य गुणदोषवित्, रा. iv. 3 सीता praises हनूमत् for his perfect speech.

(242) Cf. गोपथब्रा. बृह.

(243) गो. ब्रा. ॐ √आप् आ undergoes प्रसारण प्=म् पुरिशय

शत. ii. 2. 2. 2. अग्नि = अग्नि. इन्ध = इन्द्र इन्धनात्सर्वेषां प्राणानाम्. त्र्यंबक = स्त्री + अम्बिका = त्र्यंबक.

रा. vii. 30 अहल्या न विद्यते हल्यं यस्याः हल = वैरूप्य।

सभा. वन. नारा (आपोदेहादिरूपाः) + अयन (स्थान) = नारायण, शान्ति.

(244) सभा. शान्ति भवन्ति मुदुरावर्ता हेतुमन्तोऽपि पण्डिताः चक्रारो जनसंसदि चरन्ति वसुधां कृत्स्नां वावदूका बहुश्रुताः।

Cf. Rv. X नीहारेण प्रावृता जल्प्या चासुतृप उक्थशासश्चरन्ति. cf. उपन्ति चाक्रायण of उपनिषद्s.

(245) तै. ब्रा. iii. 9. 14 ब्राह्मणौ or ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियौ वीणागाथिनौ गायतः Musical profession was not yet disgraceful, but see गोपथ. cf. R. V. X. 18. 3 प्राञ्चो अगाम नृतये हसाय द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधानाः।

(246) ऐ. ब्रा. (v. 1) महाव्रत six or three women (servants)

dance round the fire ; the wives of the sacrificer play on lutes ताण्डय ब्रा. 5. 6. 8.

Musical instruments अपघाटिला (flutes), वाण (with 100 strings),

रा. V. ii. वीणा, पड्डुक, पटह, वंश, विपञ्ची (सप्ततन्त्री वीणा) मृदङ्ग पणव, आडम्बर डिण्डिभ, शंख, दुन्दुभि. मभा. अश्व. musical scale is discovered.

(247) रा. V. ii.

(248) Cf. शान्ति. & साम्व incident, विक्रमोर्वशीय.

(249) भीष्म & द्रोणपर्व Ancient Aryans very likely used fire as their emblem, cf. शत. विष्णुमेव पुरस्कृत्य... a (विष्णुर्वै यज्ञः)

(250) सूचिव्यूह, अर्धचन्द्र, चक्र, मकर, श्येन etc. ताण्डय ब्रा. (वाजपेय-यज्ञ) mentions chariots of one, two, three and four horses स्थूरि and अस्थूरि.

(251) कर्ण. मभा., आश्व गृ., ऐ. ब्रा. इन्द्रो वै वृत्रं हनिष्यन् सर्वा देवता अब्रवीत्...

(252) भीष्म. भा. आश्व. ऐ. ब्रा. वृत्रस्यत्वाश्वसथा......विश्वेदेवा अजहुर्ये सखायः

(253) Cf. वसिष्ठs in दाशराज्ञ fight also मभा.

(254) शान्ति.

(255) मभा. : भीष्म observed additional rules personally. Temples, cemetaries हविःशेष & अग्निसाधन were not molested.

Maidens captured in war were not to be touched for a year, cf. रा. iii. 5.

(256) मभा. शान्ति. याश्च तत्रस्त्रियाः काचिद्धतवीरा हतात्मजाः also सभा.

(257) मभा. वन. attack on द्वारका by शाल्व, शान्ति. cf. कौटिल्य.

(258) 6 258 रा. v. 52 न दूतवध्यां प्रवदन्ति सन्तो.दूतस्य दृष्टा बहवो हि दण्डाः वैरूमप्यङ्गेषु कशाभिघातो मौण्डयं तथा लक्षणसन्निपातः हनूमत्'s case.

(259) Cf. धृष्टद्युम्न's request to द्रौणि to save him from such a death. सौ. मर्भा. cf. Death by disease for a क्षत्रिय.

(260) विषमग्निं जलं रज्जुमास्थास्ये तव कारणात् (मभा. वन. रा. अयो.) cf. दुर्योधन at घोषयात्रा and भरत's सत्याग्रह ; cf. अङ्गद, द्रोण etc. cf. modern Japanese practice of Harikari and Johár by Rajput ladies. शूद्रक's entrance in fire, cf. हर्षचरित. cf. उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोक R.V. x

(261) अनुगमन did not exist in Rigvedic period. The widow sat near the pyre, but soon retired असूर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसा वृताः तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ईश. expressly forbids suicide, cf मनु who extols it सभा. मांसल स्यालमाहीं यथा।

(262) Four wives of वसुदेव enter the funeral pyre, उलूपी entered the stream : आ गृह्य The bier is carried in a cart drawn by bullocks. People showered gold coins and garments on the bier as the procession marched Vedic funeral was more solemn Women were similarly decked, but they were not to weep इमा नारी अनश्रवो अनमीवा सुरत्ना, आरोहन्तु जनयो. R. V. X. 18. 7 सभा, omits reference to अनुस्तरणी owing to its humanitarian tendency. रा. mentions it in the case of रावण cf R V x अग्नेर्वर्मपरिगोभिर्व्ययस्व x 16 7. Note that none performs Sati at दशरथ's and रावण's funeral,

Burial also existed in Rigvedic period cf उर्णम्रदायुवति दक्षिणावत एषा त्वा पातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थात् (R. V. x 18 10)

(263) Cf विदुर

(264) शत. ब्रा. पुरा ह्यतिथ्य मरिष्यति न ते अर्थानि च न गृहान्प्रा. पस्यन्ति।

(265) Cf the phrase आदहन स्मशान आ. गृह्य

(266) सभा विराट, The corpse on शमीवृक्ष शान्ति. विरागेरपभुक्तस्य शलाप्राप्पतितस्य ■ अग्निना चोपभुक्तस्य ब्रुन. सजीवनं पुन. ताण्ड्य 8 8 22 Dogs were let loos to devour a man, cf नृमेधस आङ्गिरसं मन्त्रमार्गतं श्वभिरम्यादृयन्।

(267) कीचक's brothers were allowed to sacrifice सैरन्ध्री on whom his heart was fixed cf स्त्रीपर्व धनुर्भिः शक्तिभिश्चैव रथनीडैश्च माधव युञ्जन्ति च चितामेते cf R V. x. funeral hymn आ गृ धनुर्हस्तस्य।

Cf Egyptian & Chinese custom of entombing living servants *male and female along with the dead master*

(268) भीम protested against the idea that धर्म should offer gifts and perform श्राद्ध in memory of दुर्योधन who was a great sinner cf. Egyptian and Chinese custom of providing all articles of food and furiture to the deceased in his tomb

(269) शत तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ताचाद्यश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये वा cf R V x 10 गर्भेनुनौ जनिता दंपती क अनु अमन्विन्द्या च या मातुः सगोत्रा च या पितुः शान्ति. जनक talks of गोत्रसङ्कर.

The dictum पञ्चमात्सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृपिण्डय ा निवर्तते comes into

rce later, legality of the marriage on grounds of सापिण्डय is
ot questioned in अर्जुन-सुभद्रा or वत्सला-अभिमन्यु marriage.

(270) अर्जुन's marriage with चित्राङ्गदा princes of Manipur
nd with उलूपी for a day,

with स्नुषा (widow) of ऐरावत नाग chief for a day. गृ. ब्रा. vi. i.
अर्बुद काद्रवेय, cf. ताण्डय.

(270) पुलोमा was promised to रक्षस् मभा. आदित्य. सोमश्रवा
was born of Naga mother and made a पुरोहित of जनमेजय. मभा. सभा.

(271) See genealogy Note 2. connection with गन्धर्व and
यक्षs is also noted elsewhere.

(272) मनु lays down 12 & 30 or 8 & 24. त्रिंशद्वर्षो
वहेत्कन्या हृद्यां द्वादशवार्षिकीम्...... (मनु. 2. 94) as the standard
age of the bride and the bridegroom. This is explained
on the ground that Hindus wanted to stop conversion from their
ranks to Budhism. They might have been influenced by 'mystery
of numbers' आश्वः गृह्य त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं सवत्सरं वा ब्रह्मचारिणौ स्याताम्
is in favour of post puberty marriage. Medical authorities
recomend 16 & 25 as the right age.

(273) भवन्ति गेहे वन्धक्यः कितवानां युधिष्ठिर. अनु. A Brahman
begetting a son on a Shúdrá was abhorred. Contraceptive
methods must have been used in such cases.

(274) In the Vedic period also the widow had to choose the
close relative of her husband if she wanted to get a son or marry
again. Her freedom was gone for ever along with the right o
her father's family upon her, मनु. मभा. वन. सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते.

(275) अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते RV. X. 85. 13 and 4
सोमोददद्गन्धर्वायगन्धर्वोददद्ग्नये...cf. आ.गृह्य. marriage hymn. रामा. वा
71 मघाह्यद्य महाबाहो तृतीये दिवसे विभो फल्गुन्यामुत्तरे राजंस्तस्मिन्वैवाहिकं कु
अस्मिन्गृहे गार्हपत्याये जागृहि द्रोण. the seven stages complete the ce
mony सप्तपदी being the last which made it irrevocable.

(276) मभा. वनपर्व-भेरुंडा वामनाः कुब्जाः स्थूलशीर्षास्तथैव च क्ल
श्चान्धाश्च वधिरा जायन्ते त्युच्चलोचनाः " शान्ति. अपुमांसोऽङ्गहीनाश्च स्थूल
विचेतसः । the science of eugenics was thoroughly studied bec
there was ample material. In the Brahmanas such marr
were rare as the Aryan Society was more compact. वर्णसंकर
also considered non-Eugenic.

(277) मभा. अनु women of. उत्तरकुरु's enjoyed equality of freedom with men. आदिपर्व अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिया आसन्...

(278) याज्ञ विश्पला.

(279) Cf सुलभाजनकसंवाद-शान्ति. याज्ञवल्क्य, गार्गि, (बृह III. 6) पतञ्चल काप्य's wife as a medium रा. अ. सीता mentions women prophets

(280) सुलभा did not marry because of the difficulty of getting a suitable husband (भर्तरि असति मद्विधे) she was the daughter of a क्षत्रिय prince

दान मा अर्थ या एव आत्मन. यत्पत्नी also यूपारोहण विधि R V. V. 61. 8 पति·पत्न्यार्धभाग .

मभा श स. नारद says अर्मस्कृताया कन्याया कुर्याः संस्कारमात्मने.

(281) Cf Daughter of शाण्डिल्य

(282) मभा अनु cf मनु यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते Cf the marriage hymn Rv x सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव .

(283) मभा शान्ति, स्त्रियामप्यपचारिण्या निष्कृतिस्यादद्दूषका milder punishment is also prescribed रजसा ता विशुध्यन्ते भस्मना भाजनं यथा cf याज्ञ & मनु. भार्यां चाप्रियवादिनीम्

(284) मभा वन. मनु अनु न सूर्यमग्नी न तरन् पुत्राभ्यां या निरीक्षते मभा उद्यो कौतूहलमला साध्वी cf रा. युद्ध. व्यसने चैव युद्धेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु स्वयंवरे न क्रतौ न विवाहे वा दर्शनं दूष्यते स्त्रिय ।

(285) Cf कैकेयी कौसल्या & सुमित्रा and यायाता, मरिची & परिवृत्ति

(286) The number of slave women and independent women servants in the employ of the queens is fabulous, they numbered several thousands

(287) रा. अयो. शान्ति अर्थ , मभा.

(288) (b) नावांर् संवत्सरात् कन्या प्रदद्या विभ्रमातला-शान्ति सायण allows the same period to सीता. This shows a higher degree of civilization than one found among other conquering races

(289) मभा वन प्रायश कृपणाना हि तथा वन्धुमतामपि विधवानां च वित्तानि रक्षिष्यति They had to go to the law court to get their share मार्गेण स्वधनानां Rv In case of misconduct or remarriage they forfeited it. Cf. शान्ति अपुत्रा पतिशयनं पालयन्ती ।

A school of jurists claims that widows are entitled to have

maintenance. Cf. तै. सं. अनिन्द्रिया अदायादाः मनु. & बौधायन follow this view.

(288) (a) द्रोण. हैरण्यास्तत्रवाहिन्यः स्वैरिण्यो व्यवहन्पुरा cf मुद्राराक्षस कौटिल्य. विपकन्या, दुर्योधन once thought of dividing पाण्डवs by using women. In the Brahmana period the institution is not legalised. The class existed Cf. पुंश्चलू साधारिणी Cf. वात्स्याकामसूत्र शत. iii. 2. 3 योपित्कामावै गन्धर्वा वाच मेवैभ्यः प्राहिणुवाम Cf. सुन्दोपसुन्द.

(290) शैलूष इव रामोऽद्य परेभ्यो दातुमिच्छसि रामा, अकालज्ञासि सैरन्ध्रि शैलू पीच विरोदिपि विरा. भा. Cf. Gambler's hymn R. V. X. 34 दमयन्ती & द्रौपदी.

(291) रा. v. 9 वैडूर्य & मुक्ता-हार, नूपुर, रशना, कुण्डल शत vi. 3. 6. 10 कुरीर ((crownlet) 2. 4. 15 किंकिणी, iv केयूर, वलय, v. 15 श्वदंष्ट्र, अङ्गुलीयक men were not behind women रा. बाल. 6 they used कुण्डल, मुकुट, स्रक्, अङ्गुलीयक कटक, अङ्गद निष्क, The king was privileged to wear रुक्म on one ankle (शत० coronation) (रशना) रास्ना Girdle of gold set with jewels was put round the waist by priest. हार छान्दोग्य० (जानश्रुति's gift), निष्क (ताण्ड्य.)

(292) शत. v. 1. 6. 8. चण्डातक was worn at the time of sports also.

(293) हंसाङ्कितेन क्षौमेण किंचित्पीतेन संवृतां श. वा. 73 At menses, only the lower garment was worn. Cf. द्रौपदी at the gambling hall, तै. ब्रा. 2. 3. 10.

(294) सीता सावित्री loved सोम who was fond of श्रध्दा. सावित्री's father gave her स्थागर (a fragrant substance) with which she decorated her person. Approaching her lover she repeated charms and won his love. Cf. अम्लान माला तिलकौ as the secret art of वासवदत्ता कथा सरित्सागर गौग्गुलवेन प्रातः सवने सौगन्धिकेन माध्यन्दिने अक्ष्णोरञ्जनं ता. ब्रा. 24. 13. 4., आञ्जनेन सर्पिषा R. V. x. Cf. मभा. & रामा. Cf. आ. गृह्य. समावर्तन

(295) रा. v. 15 त्रिकपर्दा, शत. vi. 3. 6. 10 सिनीवाली सुकपर्दा, चतुष्कपर्दा युवतिः R. V. In husband's absence एकवेणी.

(296) मभा. आदि,. Cf. देवयानी शर्मिष्ठा dispute अवभृथस्नान on the banks of Jumna etc. are holy water picnics, held at the end of sacrifices Cf. ताण्ड्य, शत.

(297) रा. ii. 67 नाराजके जनपदे - सायान्हे क्रीडितुं यान्ति कुमार्यो हेम भूषिताः

(298) Cf. गृहयज्ञ at विराट's court.

शत. iii. 2. 3. 6 तस्मादपि एतर्हि मोघसंहिता एवयोषा एवं हि याशुपावर्तत तामुमन्या अनु योषास्तस्माद्य एव नृत्यति यो गायति तस्मिन्नेवैता निमिम्लतमा इव.

Cf. उदयन वासवदत्ता episode

(299) सभा. अनु. The dialogue between पञ्चचूडा and नारद, कामभ्याष्ट विधः स्मृतः, काठक उप. न वैश्रेणानि सम्यानि सन्ति R. v. x. It is recognised that if men are well-governed there cannot exist a vicious woman cf. न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः छान्दो० and शान्ति.

(300) तस्मान्मलवद्वाससा न संवदेत न सहासीत सै सं. also शत. All decoration, oil bath, out door sports etc. were prohibited cf. मनु. सभा.

(301) तै. सा 3 4 पुरुषमेध cf. रा. सुन्दर. रावण's Court.

(302) सभा वर्ण. हे हते, सूक्ष्म कम्बल वासिनी, laws of inheritance suggest Dravidian origin of modern Kerala system.

(303) ता. ब्रा. 17. 1. 9 Four types of व्रात्यs are given, one type consists of exiled people who live among व्रात्यs. They are accepted into the Aryan fold if they give beasts in charity. Another type covers people who live with व्रात्यs since boyhood (1 ये नृशंसा निन्दिताः सन्तो व्रात्या प्रवसेयुः, 2 ये कनिष्ठाः सन्तः व्रात्यां प्रवसेयु 3 ये ज्येष्ठाः सन्तो...4 अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः

अदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति etc....12. 1. 2, 5, 14 न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वाणिज्यां व्रात्य is used for any heterodox people cf. किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषुगावो नाशिरं दुहे न तपन्ति घर्मम् R. V. iii. 53. 14 कौषीतकीs are so called in ताण्ड्य ब्रा.

रा. V. 22 + 309. The Engineering feat of नल is remarkable they used pulleys to lift and carry heavy stones.

(304) सभा द्रोण. काकवर्णा क्षुराधारा खलोला वल्लहप्रियाः द्राविडाः, सर्वज्ञा यवनाराजन् शूराश्च Dr. R. Mitra holds that यवन originally denoted the country and the people to the West of Kandahar, Arabia, Persia, Medea or Assyria. At a later date the term included Arabs, Asiatic Greeks and Egyptians. यवन is not found in ब्राह्मण lit. सभा कर्ण स्त्रीणां मद्रस्त्रिया सर्व

आतुराणां त्याग : स्वदारसुत विक्रय : Cf. ऐ. ब्रा. शुनः शेपकथा.

(305) सभा. भीष्म० also म्लेच्छत्व मापन्नः शक द्रविड & यवनs are classified with म्लेच्छ Cf. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो न म्लेच्छेत्

(306) अपहतासुरारक्षांसि वेदिषदः Rākshasas are the aborigines

of South India. The Brahmana period is a record of struggle between देव & असुर mainly; रामायण deals with the struggle between the descendants of देवs (now a mixed race) and राक्षसs रा. iv. 51. मय is the chief architect of दानव King of Vindhya Mt. भा. सभा. मय is आसुर.

(307) कुबेर is worshipped by Asuras. Cf. रा. iv. मय's death भा. सुन्दोपसुन्द, Cf. यौपित्कामावै गन्धर्वाः शत०.

(308) Music, Drama, architecture, medicine etc. Cf. ता, ब्रा. 7. 5. 20 उशनावै काव्योऽसुराणां पुरोहित आसीत् तं देवाः कामदुघाभिरुपामन्त्रयन्त Cf. संजीवनी विद्या their vices are exaggerated रा. v. 20 Cf. स्वधर्मो रक्षसां भीरु...गमनंवा परस्त्रीणां हरणं love of Luxury & ease ruined them.

(309) रा. iv. 22 तारा, iv. 33 रा. v. 1 It was a swimming feat.

(310) This ignorance is deliberate in some cases.

(311) प्राकृत's influence कुटस्य (कृतस्य R. V.) तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभयीं वाचं वदन्ति या च देवानां या च मनुष्याणां. मै सं. i. 11. 5 quoted by यास्क.

(312) श्यापर्णs are censured in ऐ. ब्रा. for foul pronunciations (पूतायै वाचो वदितारः)

(312) हेलवो हेलिव : for हेऽरयः शत. ब्रा. iii. 1. 5. 24 also उपही for उपधेहि, आहीं for आदेहि.

(313) अल = अनल शिशिर = अग्नि, शस्त्र = प्रासाद मभा. आदि कुन्ती did not understand this dialect.

(314) पैशाची is phonetically in the same state as पाली spoken by a tribe in गान्धार, नेपाळ & बाल्क.

(315) रा. V. 30 वानरश्च विशेषतः वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषी मिह संस्कृतां यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजाति रिव संस्कृतां रावणं मन्यमानां मा सीता भीता भविष्यति According to Genealogy रावण had Aryan blood in his veins.

The language of Vànaras was unintelligible to Aryans. Sita could not have understood a syllable of it. लक्ष्मण does not understand the report of मधुवनभङ्ग by दधिमुख. v. 63 रा. vii. 36 हनूमत् was a linguist and ritualist Cf. High German & low German.

(316) दावति गति कर्मा कर्मोऽस्त्वेव भाष्यते विकामरयार्येषु भाषन्ते दाव इति, दातिर्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु — निरुक्त ii. 2.

(317) Cf. कद्रू सुपर्णी Humour in च्यवन's story in different ब्राह्मणs. वृत्र legends मनु and the fish, शुनः शेप etc.

(318) Cf. गीतगोविन्द of जयदेव.

(319) मभा. आदि, नारद gives a list of sciences he had mastered in बृहदा० ? cf. Budhistic universities at Nalanda & Taxila where hunting and archery were also taught.

(320) Cf. वृत्रइन्द्र fight and Nature of Ashvins.

(321) Cf. नारद in बृह, इन्द्र & विरोचन as students of philosophy, कच going to शुक्र for medicine ? मभा. and ताण्ड्य.

(322) At Nalanda nobles and princes sent their sons for education, they richly endowed the institution.

(323) Cf बृहस्पति's wife and चन्द्र, Frequent ref. to गुरुतल्पग in the epic period. For discipline see धौम्य & his disciples मभा. music was tabooed at later date cf. मभा. आदि आ. पौष्य. कच देवयानि.

(324) Princes had an elementary knowledge of Vedic culture and learnt the following subjects अश्वारोह, गजारोह, रथचर्या, धनुर्वेद, गान्धर्व, विविध भाषा, etc. cf. the exhaustive list in कादम्बरी ref. चन्द्रापीड's education & कीर्ति. विद्यासुमुद्रेत परशुराम an idependent teacher द्रोण a servant of state.

Prohibition against music during the student life is of late origin. Cf. कच देवयानि, & मनु. वर्जयेन्मधुमांसं...गीतवादनम् (2. 178)

(325) नैष्ठिको ब्रह्मचारी तु वसेदाचार्य सन्निधौ...याज्ञस्मृ.

(326) मान्धातृ punished a wicked Shramana for adultery with younger brother's wife रा. iv. 18.

(327) सुलभा वडवा, गार्गी are exceptions, ब्राह्मणs lost moral prestige when they began to amass wealth.

(328) मभा. अश्व. जटाजिनधराश्चान्ये मुण्डाः केचिदसंवृताः रा. बाल. श्रमणाः (दिगम्बराः?)

रा. ii. 102 iii. 6 पत्राहाराः सलिलाहाराः वायुभक्षाः आकाशनिलयाः आर्द्रपटवाससः, V. 13 वृक्षमूलिक.

(329) न पुरा आयुषो स्वःकामी प्रेयात् शत.

(330) मभा. शान्ति also वाक्यं पुनररण्येषु सुखमेकेन जीवितुं अविभ्रता पुत्रपौत्रान्देवपर्षीनतिथीन्पितृन् सेमे मृगाः स्वर्गजिता न वराहा न पक्षिणः cf. महायान & हीनयान schools.

(331.) सभा. विरा. ततो व्याघ्रैश्च सिंहैश्च द्विरदैश्चाप्ययोधयत्.

(332) बलराम's तीर्थयात्रा cf. ऐ. ब्रा. चराति चरतोभगः पुष्पिण्यौ चरतो जङ्घे भूष्णुरात्मा फलग्रहिः शेरेऽस्य सर्वे पाप्मानः

(333) रा. vii 43 They are absent in ब्राह्मणs

(334) Cf रा. ii. 6, 14 Lamp-trees were erected in minor streets, flags were hoisted on all trees in the town.

A chariot of 4 horses (with 8 maidens a palanquin, white bull and fine horse.) marched..

(335) Cf. षोडशदानानि-

(336) This is a symbol of world conquest.

(337) This is opposed to upanishadic and epic tradition where कृत is the highest Throw cf. छान्दोग्य. कृताय विजितायाधरेयाः संयन्ति. also सभा. शत. कलिरेषहि सर्वानभिभवति '(v. 4. 1. 6) when all five gold couries have their faces upwards then it is कलि with which he conquers five quarters.

(338) Cf. the two swords in the Bible.

(339) Cf. शान्ति. पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ on every अमावास्या. शत. divides the manes into सोमपs and असोमपs.

(340) Even a grown up man had to approach a wise man for higher learning with formality cf. समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठं. also गीता iv. 34 तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया

for पुंसवन सीमन्तोन्नयन अन्नप्राशन etc. see आश्व. गृह्य. Many of them do not belong to Brahmana period. e. g. the worship of सर्पs & नागs the Totem of the two non Aryan tribes.

मधुपर्क was offered to a distinguished guest. A heifer, bull, or a goat was presented to him and killed for food. With the growth of humanitarian feeling the guest simply touched and released it. (cf. पारस्कर गृह्य.) ऐ. ब्रा. a barren cow was offered. नवाश्रेष्टि was modified. (339 cf. रा. iii. श्राद्ध & सपिण्डीकरण by राम) into इन्द्र ध्वजारोपण on आश्विनपौर्णिमा in the epic रामा० iv 16.

वास्तुशमन is very old cf. RV. वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानी ह्यस्मान् स्वावेशो अनमीवो भवानः etc राम performs it on चित्रकूट offering venison to विश्वेदेवs रुद्र. विष्णु. cf. मयसभा सभा.

(341) मनु allows all seekers after knowledge to receive education from any inferior person. It includes both secular

and spiritual learning. When a Brahman teacher is not available, he allows Brahmanas to get education from a क्षत्रिय or वैश्य.

cf. मनु. २ २४०, २४१, २३८

> स्त्रियो रत्नान्यथो विद्या धर्मः शौचं सुभाषितम् ।
> विविधानि च शिल्पानि समादेयानि सर्वतः ॥ २४० ॥
> अब्राह्मणादध्ययनमापत्काले विधीयते ।
> अनुव्रज्या च शुश्रूषा यावदध्ययनं गुरोः ॥ २४१ ॥
> श्रद्दधानः शुभां विद्यामाददीतावरादपि ।
> अन्त्यादपि परं धर्मं स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥ २३८ ॥

We have already noted how कवष ऐलूष a non-Brahmana was at first cursed and driven out of the sacrificial hall on account of his inferior caste, but later welcomed as a respectable priest by other sacrificers (ऐ. ब्रा.) In छान्दोग्य बृहदारण्यक there are instances of Brahmanas approaching a क्षत्रिय to get spiritual knowledge.

As the barriers of caste became more tight the process of assimilating men of learning into the highest class disappeared. The attitude of मनु is different from that of the author of ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण in this respect.

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(*Continued from Page 96*)

The rise of the new philosophy which gradually kills Vedic religion in which sacrifice through अग्नि to the various vedic gods is the principal mode of religious worship शान्तिः अ. २२६ इन्द्र-नमुचि dialogue. नमुचि lost his wealth and power. He is defeated by gods and bound with ropes. But नमुचि acquired the highest philosophical knowledge. He was perfectly calm and peaceful. इन्द्र puts him the same question that he had done to बलि & प्रल्हाद before. नमुचि gives a similar answer. He delivers a similar philosophical sermon to इन्द्र. Therein he propounds the theory of predestination. Since all things are predetermined by the creator—(God) *why should one be sorry or gleeful ? A philosopher* should be quite indifferent and neutral amidst all changes of fortune. He is never angry, never afflicted with grief but is always unruffled in spirit and steady like the Himalayas. It is a key to happiness.

In the Upaniṣadic period इन्द्र and विरोचन—father of बलि—go to प्रजापति to obtain the knowledge of आत्मन्. विरोचन misunderstands the teaching and goes away satisfied. इन्द्र returns again and again with doubt until he gets the correct knowledge of आत्मन्.

In the epic period the situation is changed. विरोचन's son बलि becomes the greatest philosopher and saint and इन्द्र approaches him for the highest knowledge. What metamorphosis ? इन्द्र riding his favourite elephant begins his search for बलि. He finds बलि in a deserted house in the form of an ass, eating chaff as described by ब्रह्मदेव (इन्द्र having defeated all असुर's and inquired the whereabouts of बलि whose wealth is inexhaustible inspite of his eternal gift-making).

इन्द्र asks him " Are you not unhappy in your present position, considering your magnificent and flourishing past ? " बलि reprimands इन्द्र for his unchivalrous remarks and says " your mind is vulgar therefore you are talking in that strain. इन्द्र repeats his question.

बलि gives him a long lecture. Its purport is. Everything in the world is dependent on Time. All creatures have to submit to it. My present state is not the result of my previous evil कर्मन्; it is entirely due to Time. As I have secured आत्मज्ञान why should I be jubilant or sorry for the good or evil that I experience? That all-pervading force-Time—will also dethrone you (इन्द्र) in due course. (Note the Upanishadic law of Karman is out right rejected) (शान्ति. अ. २२७).

इन्द्र meets बलि a second time in a mountain cave. इन्द्र is riding ऐरावत and he is followed by other gods. बलि is a prisoner, but he is neither sorry for himself nor jealous of इन्द्र's pomp in his captivity. He delivers another sermon to इन्द्र who applauds बलि's spirit of complete resignation and tranquillity and spares his life. शान्ति. अ. २७९ शुक्रवृत्रासुर संवाद. वृत्र becomes a saint and philosopher after his defeat.

शान्ति. अ. २२२ इन्द्र-प्रल्हाद संवाद. प्रल्हाद had obtained आत्मज्ञान. He was leading the life of an ascetic in a desolate house (the same as बलि's). इन्द्र admits प्रल्हाद has all possible virtues and he is leading a peaceful and calm life. इन्द्र inquires the cause. प्रल्हाद explains to इन्द्र how and why he is not miserable and unhappy even though he has lost all his wealth, status, grandeur and is vanquished by the enemies (gods).

The object of the story in the Upanishad is to exalt the importance of आत्मज्ञान even the great god of Vedic and Brāhmana period is imperfect unless he possesses आत्मज्ञान. Thus indirectly इन्द्र is reduced to the level of an ignorant man.

महाभारत goes a step ahead. In it demons like प्रल्हाद, बलि, नमुचि and वृत्र play the part of saints and philosophers. They impart spiritual knowledge to the principal vedic god इन्द्र. इन्द्र inspite of his heavenly empire and grandeur is painted as an impudent blustering philistine. His downtrodden adversaries assume the function of preceptors and enlighten him. In the Upanishadic period इन्द्र goes to another god—प्रजापति who instructs him. That is not as degrading as his going to his defeated foes for आत्मज्ञान.

शान्ति. अ. २७२ हिंस्रयज्ञनिन्दा

A devout Brāhmana named सत्य loses the merit of his life-long penance the moment he thinks of offering a deer as a victim in the sacrifice. Non-killing is declared to be the highest religion (अहिंसा परमोधर्मः)

Direct condemnation of sacrifice is found in several places in महाभारत because it entails killing.

Vedic gods are utterly discredited. विष्णु–कृष्णभक्ति is put in the forefront. Vedic gods and sacrifice are inseparable. There vedic sacrificial system has to be overthrown. This is achieved in various ways. गीता does it mildly by changing the meaning of यज्ञ and assigning a lower place to sacrificers of vedic type. Vedic इन्द्र, like Nietzsche's superman, is beyond good and evil. This ideal is no longer of service to combat the influence of Budhism. Following the clue of Budha's previous births a system of विष्णु's avataras is evolved and presented to the people in an attractive form. The process of कृष्ण's deification is clear from the following episodes.

१ कृष्णदौत्य at the court of कौरव's.

२ विश्वरूपदर्शन in गीता.

३ कृष्णपूजा at the close of राजसूय performed by युधिष्ठिर.

४ कृष्ण reviving the life of still-born son of उत्तरा–अभिमन्यु.

५ The famous declaration भगवान् वासुदेवोऽत्र कीर्त्यतेऽयं सनातनः.

६ Addition of हरिवंश as a 19th पर्व to महाभारत makes it complete.



Appendix II

Supercession of Vedic इन्द्र by epic कृष्ण-विष्णु.

Common traits

इन्द्र	कृष्ण
(1) इन्द्र is born miraculously cf. Rv. IV. गर्भेनु॰ hymn. He is अयोनिसंभव.	(1) कृष्ण appears as a five-year child at birth His birth is miraculous.
(2) Through shame इन्द्र's mother concealed him in a secret place after his birth. अवद्यमिव मन्यमाना गुहाकरिन्द्रं माता वीर्येणान्यृष्टम् (Rv.)	(2) कृष्ण was also concealed by his father, through fear, in Gokula.
(3) At his birth there was a violent storm in (aerial) waters, he stopped it by letting out the waters through a channel Rv. समच्छिदापः शिशवे मयूड्युः	(3) At the touch of कृष्ण's toe the Yamuna which was in spate suddenly became quiet and fordable.
(4) इन्द्र destroys the chariot of उषस्.	(4) कृष्ण kills शकटासुर.
(5) इन्द्र kills अहि (serpent) who by obstructing the flow of aerial waters had caused havoc and allows the waters to flow for the good of the people.	(5) कृष्ण kills कालिया who had poisoned the water of the Yamuna and makes it pure and useful for the people.
(6) He kills अहि lying in the mountain अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियाणम् (Rv.)	(6) He kills मुचकुन्द who was fast asleep in a cave, unexpectedly.
(7) इन्द्र kills वृत्र by using fraud.	(7) विष्णु (नरसिंह) kills हिरण्यकशिपु similarly.
(8) इन्द्र defeats powerful असुर's. It is his special duty.	(8) विष्णु by assuming various incarnations defeats दैत्य's and राक्षस's.
(9) इन्द्र made the flying mountains stable (by cutting their wings) यः पर्वतान्प्रकुपिताँ अरम्णात् (Rv.)	(9) विष्णु (वराह) makes the sinking earth stable by lifting it up.

इन्द्र	विष्णु
(10) इन्द्र's weapon is वज्र which has many sharp points. With वज्र he kills his enemies.	(10) कृष्ण (विष्णु) has a सुदर्शनचक्र which has many sharp points. कृष्ण kills शिशुपाल and others with this weapon.
(11) इन्द्र is गोपति गवामसि गोपतिरेक इन्द्रः (Rv.).	(11) कृष्ण is गोपाल, the lord of cows.
(12) इन्द्र enjoys the company of nymphs in नन्दन garden.	(12) कृष्ण sports with गोपी's in the grove along the Yamunā river.
(13) इन्द्र is the paramour of अहल्या. He enjoys her fraudulently.	(13) कृष्ण is the paramour of राधा. विष्णु violates the chastity of वृन्दा by using fraud like इन्द्र.
(14) इन्द्र assumes various forms by his miraculous powers (इन्द्रोमायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते (Rv.).	(14) Epic विष्णु takes various forms to destroy demons e. g. मोहिनी, नरसिंह, वामन. दुर्योधन censures कृष्ण because he uses माया to deceive the enemies.
(15) Formerly people prayed to इन्द्र for victory in battle against enemies त्वां हवन्त उभयास आजिषु (Rv.). दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च (Rv.).	(15) The world when harrassed by Demons and राक्षस's approaches epic विष्णु for relief with prayer.
(16) इन्द्र's love for his sister is well known.	(16) कृष्ण loves कृष्णा (द्रौपदी) his adopted sister.

Note that कृष्ण has to assimilate all the qualities of his old rival.

In order to facilitate the succession of इन्द्र by विष्णु कृष्ण, कृष्ण stopped the age-old worship of इन्द्र and replaced it by the new worship of गोवर्धनगिरि (हरिवंश). This in effect means कृष्ण (his devotees) discards Vedic sacrifice in which इन्द्र figures prominently and starts the school of भक्तिमार्ग in which he himself (कृष्ण-विष्णु) is the highest god.

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